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LETTERS should be addressed to OLIVER JOHNSON, *Editor of The Anti-Slavery Standard*, 48 Beekman-st., New York.

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Selections.

DEDICATION OF MR. SUMNER'S SPEECH, "THE BARBARISM OF SLAVERY."

To the young men of the United States, I dedicate this new edition of a speech on the Barbarism of Slavery, in token of heartfelt gratitude to them for brave and patriotic service rendered in the present War for Civilization.

IT is now more than three years since I deemed it my duty to expose, in the Senate, the barbarism of slavery. This phrase, though common now, was new then. The speech was a strict and logical reply to the assumptions of Senators, asserting the "divine origin" of slavery, its "ennobling" character, and that it was the "black marble keystone" of our national arch. Listening to these assumptions, which were of daily recurrence, I felt that they ought to be answered. And, considering their effrontery, it seemed to me that they should be answered frankly and openly by exhibiting slavery as it really is, without reserve; careful that I should "nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice." This I did.

In that debate the issue was joined which is still pending in the trial by battle. The inordinate assumptions for slavery naturally ripened in rebellion and war. If slavery were, in reality, all that it was said to be by its representatives, they must have failed in duty if they did not vindicate and advance it. Not easily could they see a thing so "divine" and so "ennobling"—constituting the "black marble keystone" of our national arch—discredited by a popular vote, even if not yet doomed to sacrifice.

The election of Mr. Lincoln was a judgment against slavery, and its representatives were aroused.

Meanwhile, for more than a generation, an assumption of constitutional law, hardly less outrageous, had become rooted side by side with slavery, so that the two had shot up in rank luxuriance together. It was assumed that any State was privileged, under the Constitution, at any time, in the exercise of its own discretion, to withdraw from the Union. This absurdity found little favor at first, even among the representatives of slavery. To say that two and two make five could not be more irrational. But custom and constant repetition gradually produced an impression, until, at last, all who were madest for slavery were equally mad for this disorganizing ally.

It was under the shadow of this constitutional assumption that the assumption for slavery grew into virulent vigor, so that, at last, when Mr. Lincoln was elected, it broke forth in open war; but the war was declared in the name of State Rights.

Therefore, there are two *apparent* rudiments to this war. One is slavery and the other is State Rights. But the latter is only a cover for the former. If slavery were only out of the way there would be no trouble from State Rights.

The war, then, is for slavery, and nothing else. It is an insane attempt to vindicate by arms the lordship which had been already asserted in debate. With mad-cap audacity it seeks to install this Barbarism as the truest Civilization. Slavery is declared to be the "corner-stone" of the new edifice. This is enough.

The question is thus presented between Barbarism and Civilization; not merely between two different forms of Civilization, but between Barbarism on the one side and Civilization on the other side. If you are for Barbarism, join the rebellion, or, if you cannot join it, give it your sympathies. If you are for Civilization, stand by the government of your country with mind, soul, heart and might!

Such is the issue simply stated. On the one side are women and children on the auction-block; families rudely separated; human flesh lacerated and seamed by the bloody scourge; labor extorted without wages; and all this frightful, many-sided wrong is the declared foundation of a mock Commonwealth. On the other side is the Union of our fathers with the image of "Liberty" on its coin and the sentiment of liberty in its Constitution, now arrayed under a patriotic government, which insists that no such mock Commonwealth, having such a declared foundation, shall be permitted on our territory, purchased with money and blood, to impair the unity of our jurisdiction and to insult the moral sense of mankind.

Therefore the battle which is now waged by the Union is for Civilization itself, and it must have aid and God-speed from all who are not openly for Barbarism. There is no word of peace, no tone of gentleness, no whisper of humanity, which does not become trumpet-tongued against the rebellion. War itself seems to "smooth its wrinkled front" as it undertakes the championship of such a cause. The armed soldier becomes a minister of mercy.

"The Cid was in the midst, his shout was heard afar;
I am Rui Diez, the champion of Bivar;
Strike amongst them, gentlemen, for sweet mercy's sake."

In the name of mercy, strike, young men, so that the revolting Barbarism, which began the war, shall disappear forever. Anything less than this will be an abandonment of duty. CHARLES SUMNER.

Washington, July 4th, 1863.

"CONSCRIPT QUAKERS."

To the Editors of The N. Y. Tribune.

I HAVE long been a reader of *The Tribune*, and an admirer of its independent and fearless course in combating popular error, and waging a righteous warfare against wrong and outrage; and pleading the cause of the down-trodden and oppressed of every race and class. But it was with feelings of pain and grief that I read an editorial under the above caption in your issue of the 21st inst., and I desire a brief space in your columns to refer to what I believe to be some of its important and vital errors. I shall not attempt to follow the writer through his cursory and flippant introduction, alluding to what he calls "trifling matters," though I do not so regard them. This introduction reminded me forcibly of the reply of the frogs in the fable to the boys who had been pelting them with stones. "This may be sport to you, but it is death to us." The assertion that "the Quakers of this middle of the nineteenth century cannot, if they wish, be formed after the pattern of those who testified in the middle of the seventeenth," suggests the query, Why not? Has the standard of moral and religious rectitude changed since then, or has man lost his ability, through Divine help, to withstand temptation and live up to what he conscientiously believes to be right? Clearly not; for truth is clearly immutable and unchangeable; though it may indeed be "easy to sophisticate moral questions," and thus mislead shallow minds.

The case of the two young men, members of the Society of Friends in Pennsylvania, so far as stated, has resulted, just as all who are acquainted with the principles of the Society, and its past history, must have expected of all consistent members, namely, a steadfast refusal to bear arms. Indeed, it is the only course they can pursue, unless they are prepared to abandon their principles and testimony against war. How is it, that while you "respect the motives of these conscientious conscripts, and are glad to find that in these days all faith in abstract truth has not departed," you can, in the same breath, advocate their practical abandonment of that faith by accepting the offer of two wealthy Friends to pay their legal commutation? Has the old maxim in law, "What a man does by his agent, he does by himself," become obsolete?—and are the principles of morality, as illustrated in the unanswered and unanswerable pages of Dymond, to be swept away with a single dash of the editorial pen?

No; as to this offer of the two wealthy Friends alluded to, the young men doubtless clearly saw that it would be inconsistent with their principles, and with those of the Society, to accept the offer, and also in them to make it. As they could not confide their principles to others, the responsibility of their conduct rests with themselves, and hence they could not accept this offer.

I believe few will deny that there are certain inherent rights and duties which rightfully have precedence over, and lie deeper than any or all human governments, and which these have neither power nor right to abridge or destroy; and one of these is the right to the free exercise of the conscience between man and his Maker, without infringement upon the rights or duties of others.

It would be easy for me to show the inconsistency of war and bloodshed with Christianity, as taught and preached by our Lord and his apostles, and practically adhered to by Christians during the first two centuries of the Christian era; but, as the article under notice does not enter upon this discussion, but rather hints that such an essay would be inadmissible, I forbear. But the manner you propose for the government to deal with those conscript Friends I cannot dismiss without remark. That they should be "hung for cowardice, or shot for insubordination," seems to me a proposition to repudiate all progress, and go back to the dark ages, for I know of no civilized nation that has resorted to the like barbarity with conscientious men. Even Jeff. Davis, so far as I know, has not done it. And here let me say that I have seen the Friends from North Carolina, of whom some account was recently given by your Philadelphia correspondent, who were forced into the rebel army, taken prisoners after the battle of Gettysburg, confined in Fort Delaware, and released by our government.

I heard from their own lips the story of their sufferings, and of their faithfulness to their principles. It completely refutes the statement, if anything were needed to refute one so absurd, that Friends cannot maintain their principles now, as they did in the seventeenth century. George Fox himself was never subjected to a severer test than was the one who was ordered to be shot, nor did he ever experience a more remarkable deliverance. In the case of these Friends, too, there were not wanting those in their neighborhood, in high standing in the Society, who advised the payment of the commutation (then $500) under the mistaken but well-meant idea that this might be better than that they should be subjected to the temptations and evils of the camp; but true to their principles, they could in no wise do it. But now, having been liberated by our government, they intend settling in the free West, and should they be drafted under our conscription laws, they must, forsooth, be forced into our army, and "for consistency's sake be hung for cowardice or shot for insubordination," according to your statement, as a matter of course!

But these Friends, though from a rebel State, were loyal citizens of the United States—opposed to the rebellion and all its purposes and aims; and, aside from their religious convictions against all war, they could not conscientiously engage in a contest to dismember the government. Was it right for them to refuse to bear arms to this end, and with a courage and constancy greater far than is required to meet a hostile foe, submit to whatever might befall them on account of such refusal? Who shall say nay? And shall any presume to say that it is less their duty faithfully to maintain their allegiance to that peaceful Divine government which they feel to be of vastly more consequence than any earthly consideration?

In regard to the example of the young man in Massachusetts of non-resistant principles, who "will not suffer his private convictions to obstruct the operation of a law essential to the safety of the Republic," I can only say that he sacrifices his private convictions, on the altar of some real or fancied expediency. In other words, his principles are not maintained, but relinquished, for if he can now pay his money in lieu of personally going into the army, should he be drafted under another conscription act without the provision he has now availed himself of, his private convictions being out of the way, he would clearly have to go to the war in person, dealing death and destruction to his enemies, or rather those of the country whose salvation he thus endeavors to secure. But what will have become of the non-resistant principles which he professed to hold?

In conclusion, permit me to say I do verily believe that if our government takes the lives of true, loyal, and innocent men, because they cannot conscientiously destroy their fellow-creatures, it will not only disgrace itself in the eyes of the civilized world, but it will, if there is any truth in Divine revelation, or reliance on the past history of mankind, bring down upon the nation still greater judgments than have now overtaken it. CHARLES PERRY.

Westerly, R. I., 8th mo. 22, 1863.

OBSERVATIONS IN TENNESSEE.

From The N. Y. Times.

ONE of the editors of *The Times* has just returned from a brief visit to Tennessee, his native State, and while there had ample opportunities of learning the disposition of the people by freely mixing with them. He found a general conviction pervading the masses, even of those who had been the most intemperate and determined secessionists, that the cause of the Southern Confederacy was hopelessly lost, and the authority of the United States permanently restored, over the State of Tennessee at least. There were different states of mind observable among the people in view of this generally admitted fact. Some were in favor of immediate steps to reorganize the State and County governments, and a formal return to the Union, as the surest method of securing amnesty and exemption from the operation of the confiscation law. Others were disposed to hold back until the President made overtures, and proposed to accept the State, on its return, with all its institutions and rights of property and person intact, as before the war. There were some few who refused yet to consider the subject of the return of the State to the Union, but these were mostly women, widows and excitable young persons, who have no voice in the ordering of public affairs. The feeling in favor of the immediate reconstruction of the State government was so decided that the movement for that purpose could be almost instantaneously effected, but for the dread of the inhabitants of marauding and murderous guerilla bands of their own bush-whackers, who continue to infest many portions of the State. . . . Large numbers of citizens in the sections of the State visited are now freely going forward to the military posts and taking the oath of allegiance. What was done at first clandestinely, is now done openly; and what was considered a hardship and a humiliation, is deemed a privilege. There are no mental reservations in regard to the oath, and it is taken to be observed.

Lest it should be supposed that the part of Tennessee visited is not a fair exponent of the State, from the fact of previous loyalty, the presence of Union forces, or the infusion of new and Northern population, it may be added that the County especially canvassed by our associate has never been occupied by Union troops, and only occasionally traversed by minor detachments. It is a County that was originally and deeply committed to secession. On the first vote of the State, when the majority against secession was 80,000, only three Counties voted in favor of secession, and the County in question was *one of the three.*

The revolution that has been effected in Tennessee is not only political, but moral. There is a change not only of facts, but of ideas. All parties there admit that the war has destroyed the system of slavery, and the chief anxiety of the white population is as to the disposition to be made of the blacks. The desire is universal that they should be removed and colonized in some southern country; and great fear is expressed of collision and bloodshed between the two races if they remain together after the emancipation of the blacks. To the amazement of our observer, the most philosophic and accomplished politician of the part of the State visited, who had been a firm supporter of the system of slavery and an ardent secessionist, was found deploring that Mr. Lincoln did not apply the Emancipation proclamation to Tennessee, and thus cut up by the roots the now fatally wounded Upas tree; and maintaining that an increased white population and a more economical system of white labor would soon have repaid the State for all the losses by slavery and ravages by the war! This man has constant and interested hearers, and is making disciples of scores of persons who not very long since followed him to the extreme of his pro-slavery opinions. It is not fair to say, however, that Anti-Slaveryism has as yet any firm foothold in either Middle or West Tennessee. But the people are ready and anxious to accept the Union restored, in order to secure again the blessings of peace; and are willing to see the fate of slavery left to determination by natural causes, admitting meanwhile that its value is fatally impaired, and its ultimate extinction in all the States merely a matter of time. It is the opinion of our associate that, if President Lincoln should at once withdraw the military government now over the State, and call on the people of Tennessee to reorganize their State government by an election of Governor, Legislature and Members of Congress, in November, promising to uphold them in the choice of their new officers, provided only they elect men who will accept, recognize and support the Constitution and laws of the United States, and that on their satisfactory execution of this part of their public duty, he will proclaim an amnesty to the State, and exemption from the operation of the Confiscation act, the return of the State to the Union would be assured, and its citizens would show a cheerful and steadfast loyalty in future that would amaze patriots in our own land, and confound the enemies of republican liberty throughout the world.

THE ISSUE SIMPLIFIED.

THE Ohio soldiers now fighting for their country are authorized and enabled by law to vote at the ensuing and all subsequent elections; and accredited representatives of either party are now visiting the several armies distributing the necessary blanks and ballots. Mr. Griffiths, commissioned by the Vallandigham party to represent it in the Army of Gen. Rosecrans, reached that General's headquarters at Bridgeport, Ala., on the 5th inst., and was of course respectfully received. Gen. John A. Garfield, who is Chief of Staff to Gen. Rosecrans (and M. C. elect from the old Giddings District), met him and had a conversation on politics, whereof the substance is thus reported by a correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette*:

Garfield remarked, in substance, that he understood the Vallandigham party professed to believe that the government couldn't succeed in crushing the rebellion, and that it was in favor of immediately and unconditionally stopping the war; to which Griffiths answered affirmately.

Garfield—If, contrary to your expectations, the armies of the government should succeed, your party would be disappointed, and its prospects badly injured.

Griffiths—Yes, to some extent.

Garfield—Now, in a few days, this army may be engaged in a terrible battle with Bragg's whole force. Possibly we may crush it. Would not your party be injured by such a result?

Griffiths—Well, you would affect the result of the election.

Garfield—Oh! then, as a party, you don't want to see us succeed?

Griffith—Really, we have no interest in the fight.

Garfield—You are perfectly indifferent, then, whether we or Bragg are crushed.

This Griffiths rather evaded, saying his party had no interest in the issues of the fight, but carefully abstained from saying that his party sympathized with Rosecrans in the coming struggle.

Somewhat later, Garfield expressed surprise that a man who had held the public position of Vallandigham should write a letter to the people of Ohio containing three important statements, which were not only totally false, but which *he knew* to be lies. For example, he says in the Niagara Falls letter that he met not a single man, woman or child, in the South who did not express themselves willing and anxious to discuss the subject of a reconstruction of the Union, as soon as the government should withdraw its troops. "Now," said Garfield, sternly and emphatically, "I hold myself responsible as a man and public officer, to the Democratic party of Ohio, to prove that Vallandigham *knew* that he stated a stupendous falsehood. The rebel Gov. Harris of Tennessee said to him, in the presence of many witnesses: 'Mr. Vallandigham, you totally misapprehend us. *We will accept no terms that do not recognize the eternal separation of the South from the North. We will listen to no terms which do not* BEGIN *with these conditions. We will accept no boundary line south of the Potomac and Ohio.*'"

Gen. Garfield added that he could give the names of many responsible citizens of Shelbyville, Tenn., who heard the conversation between Vallandigham and Harris.

In reply, Griffiths said that Vallandigham was steering as close to the wind as he could, when making that statement, to secure his political success. "*Vallandigham*," he said, "*has no expectation of the restoration of the Union.*"

As may have been expected, much feeling was created in the staff at his appearance.

The army vote for Governor of Ohio, unless reduced by bloody battles during the four weeks ensuing, will doubtless exceed 50,000. We put it to the candor of every intelligent man to say whether Val. is likely to obtain 2,000 of the whole number. Then we ask every patriot to judge whether he *ought* to receive *any.*—*Tribune.*

THE DEPARTMENT OF THE WEST.

Correspondence of The Evening Post.

ST. LOUIS, Mo., Sept. 9, 1863.

THE indignant censure visited upon the commanding General and his subordinates of this department, which has been long accumulating, and which has found voice since the Lawrence massacre, is not confined to the widows and orphans of that fated city, nor yet to the loyal people of the border, who never cease to dread the crack of a guerilla's rifle; nor to the Unionists of this State at large, and in this city of St. Louis, who have been struggling under the load of a so-called "conservative, claybank" administration; but far and near, all over the West, there bursts forth a cry of bitter reproach and remonstrance, which it seems must soon reach the Executive's ear at Washington.

The simple truth of the matter is, that the cause of freedom and the Union have gone wrong ever since the removal of Gen. Fremont from this department. Brushing aside all spurious forms, with his rigorous incisive nature, he struck right at the heart of the rebellion, he planted his foot firmly on the neck of the traitorous copperhead serpent, and well-nigh strangled the monster. From the moment of his departure the wicked devil has been stinging and squirming, until to-day it has produced this frightful disaster at Lawrence. Experience ought to have firmly established the fact that there is no half-way step between a Unionist and a rebel. The conservative experiment has been fairly tried in New Orleans, and in this department. The blood of hundreds of true men and the ruins of Lawrence, that free city of the plains, are witnesses of its criminality and folly.

THE ARMY AND THE COLORED TROOPS.

A more striking illustration cannot be found of the wonderful change of opinion on the negro question which has passed through certain classes of our people, than in that of the army of the Mississippi. One year ago the opposition to enlisting negroes was not confined to the ranks; in many instances it was popular amongst the soldiers; but the movement met with the determined enmity of every general officer but one in the department; this single exception was Gen. Osterhaus, whose name is so highly mentioned in Gen. Grant's report, and who is known in the army for his great military capacity and distinguished bravery.

Gen. Grant, perhaps, more than any of his subordinates, disapproved of the whole movement, and has never given it counsel or support until within a few weeks, when he is said to have written a letter to the President in sympathy with the project for raising negro soldiers, and there are but one or two of his subordinate Generals who do not now strongly support these measures.

It is not easy for our friends in the East, who have never questioned the wisdom and policy of putting arms into the hands of the liberated blacks, to comprehend the full extent of the moral victory which has been gained in our western armies. The most ample praise is due Mr. Field, the commissioner appointed by government to superintend the leasing of plantations on the Mississippi, and to whose care the interests of the negroes have been entrusted.

The entire action of the government upon the negro question in the West has proceeded upon his plan submitted to the Secretary of War, and adopted by that practical statesman without an exception, and it was with a view to carry out those suggestions that Mr. Stanton, with more than usual tact and success, appointed Adjt.-Gen. Thomas to accompany Mr. Field to the West and proceed in the organization of negro troops. I say "success," because no officer in the army could have worked with more enthusiasm and zeal in a cause than has the head of the Adjutant-General's department in the organization of colored soldiers, whatever may have been his predilections upon that question. Indeed the officers of the regular army, not one of whom but has had at one time or another some quarrel with Gen. Thomas, all unite in the belief that he was appointed to this work in the hope he would decline, when he would be Adjutant-General no longer. But, fortunately, he obeyed the order, and I have been told by one who accompanied the General upon his first journey, that it *did* go rather hard in the early part of the campaign, but at Cairo, where the General's speech met with hearty applause from the soldiers, he became warmly interested in the work—an interest which has increased and intensified until there is not a more thorough-going Abolitionist outside of Boston than the gentleman who wrote that famous report against Gen. Fremont in Missouri some two years ago. It is a significant fact that for several months after Gen. Thomas's return to Washington, enlistments of colored soldiers almost entirely ceased in Gen. Grant's department; not more than four hundred were mustered in, when there might have been fifty thousand. Under the active exertions of Gen. Thomas, who is in the field again, a large force will be organized and placed in active service. Heretofore the War Department have not consented to the organization of negroes in cavalry regiments. I understand that the General is authorized to recruit for this important branch of the service. Mr. Stanton may have been induced to change his mind upon this point by an incident which occurred on the leased plantations last Summer.

AN INCIDENT.

One of the rebel gentlemen who occupied one of these plantations before the war seemed to be impressed with the idea that he was yet the owner, so he organized a guerilla party, made a descent upon the property, burned a number of houses, and killed several negroes who were at work in the fields. The news of the attack instantly came to the station, where there was a guard composed of two companies, one of white and the other of negro soldiers. A detachment of each was instantly started in pursuit. On their way through the fields they came across a gang of mules engaged in plowing. Without ceremony, these patient, peaceful animals were seized, and in five minutes some twenty black and white men were mounted bareback, with no other harness but leading halters. From this instant the race became most intensely exciting. The negroes soon found the trail; twisting their legs under the bellies of their improvised war-horses they sent forth a peculiar yell, which had the astonishing effect of forcing a four-mile gait out of the mules. The white soldiers copied Sambo so far as they were able, by clinging to their Rosinantes and maintaining a somewhat embarrassing and necessarily precarious seat on the mule's sharp back-bone. By dint of clutching at the cropped manes, and by an occasional kick, thump and a poke, they kept up with the negroes until they reached the cane-brake, and here the blacks showed their real superiority over the white race. They did not seem to slacken their speed, but glided in and out of the crowded heavy growth of cane with the utmost ease and rapidity, never for a moment losing the trail, but leaving their white comrades far behind, cutting and swearing their way through the brake. The negroes soon arrived on the bank of a stream, to find the guerillas in the act of swimming their horses through the rapid current. Crack, crack went their rifles, a half dozen riderless horses plunged through the water to the bank. Two of the rebels who had gained the shore were shot; the rest escaped. The negroes then crossed the stream, gathered in the stray horses, recrossed and started for home, not a man scratched, in time to meet their white comrades, who had just come up. They returned to camp with their sable victors, quite sober in spirit, and with bleeding bodies, yet willing to admit the superiority of negroes in a mule race, bareback, through the cane-brake. EXILE.

LETTERS FROM MRS. F. D. GAGE.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

PARIS ISLAND, Aug. 29, 1863.

THE cotton crop (by the negroes) is said to be doing well, the bolls near the ground opening, and in a few sunny spots picking has already commenced. Two heavy rains this week have put it back, and made the snowy rolls look unpromising. The corn is excellent and out of the reach of storms or bugs.

Whenever the negroes do a good deed it should find a chronicler, not that their good deeds are any marvels in themselves, but because of the opinion "that no good thing can come out of this Nazareth," and because of them who have hardened their hearts to believe a lie, that they may be obliged to change their opinion.

Two weeks ago, at our old church, I told the people there assembled that I had read in the Northern newspapers that the colored laborers on Lady's Island, Port Royal, and St. Helena, had contributed of their stores of vegetables and garden products to the hospitals, and suggested that Paris Island should not fall behind in good works and charities, and expressed a hope that they would each contribute their mite to aid the wounded and sick soldiers. I did not urge the matter much; I could not have the heart to do it, for our whole island seemed like a hospital—small-pox, chicken-pox, fevers, and all manner of diseases incident to the extreme hot month of August, prostrating them.

What do you think these "descendants of baboons and monkeys" did? Before they left the church they quietly laid their plans, and on the Thursday following a fair wagon-load of sweet potatoes, pumkins, tomatoes, chickens, eggs, ochre, green corn, and melons, were sent up on a row-boat to Beaufort, and deposited at the doors of the hospitals.

It was a small offering, but it was their best, and given with a heartiness and good will that might put to blush many a laggard movement among the motley and cultivated children of father Adam.

Put this little item into your pockets, you who apologize for New York mobs, you who help to burn down colored orphan asylums and murder and hang negroes; you who hate and despise the black man, who slander and would herd him with the brute, divest him of every right, and make him your dog to follow you, your horse to carry you, your ox to plow your corn, take this item and ponder it, remembering that though *you* may have all things else which this negro has not, yet "wanting charity" ye are nothing.

The virtues of the emancipated negro are the inherent growth of his humanity; his vices are the teaching of slavery—by both precept and example from the white man—and nothing astonishes me more, as day by day I read in the lives and characters of these people the records of that accursed institution, than that they have one vestige of virtue left.

Old Flora tottered in to see me last Sabbath, to have me read a "chapter" to her.

She says she is eighty years old and has thirty-seven grand children.

As we talked, she, as do other old folks, ran on garrulously of old times.

"You knows ole big house missus where'm we'm lib, dat usen to be ole nuss house. Ise been ole nuss dis many year. O, oh, so long Missis. You usen to have a pulpit in de nuss-house, and when de Sundy come him get a preacher from Beaufort or som odder town and we'rn habs beautiful service."

"Did you have many children to nurse?" I asked.

"O-o-o-h! Missus, many childre; plenty, plenty—much's a hundred, all one time. Massa like the children, 'more de merrier' him usen to say. 'Can't hab too many, old Flow, you tell dem wenches; git me de children and I'll feed em and clothe him. Hurry em up, Flow, can't get too many childre.'"

Oh! God, what revelations these are of human shame and crime. The pulpit on Sunday; the nurse house six days in the week; the nurse house, where the child of three weeks old was thrown, when torn from its mother, while she was driven to the cotton field; the nurse house, where these human animals were to be reared for the auction-block, infants to cry themselves into ruptures and deformity, to gulp down sour hominy soup instead of their mother's milk, and to suck at a moldy bacon rind instead of the breast provided by nature. The nurse-room, where one-half of the stock died and was carried out at night, and buried in the "live oak bush" by the light of the pine-knot torch, by those who doubtless uttered a prayer and a thanksgiving to the good God for the deliverance of the little one, with every spadefull of earth thrown over its body.

Yes, a pulpit and a minister once a week must have seemed a purifier of this pest house of his own creating, to Massa Tom. Old Flow was born here, and until too old was a house servant. Out of twenty-two of her grand children, said to have been born of one son and daughter-in-law, only four live to tell their tale of misery.

PARIS ISLAND, Sept. 7.

Please find accompanying this two ears of corn, and a few pods of cotton plucked from the fields of two of our old colored women—each over 60 years of age—each having given her sons to the 2d South Carolina Regiment, Col. Montgomery, now before Charleston.

I do not send these things as extraordinary specimens of their kind. But will not each kernel of this golden corn, and every fiber of that long-staple cotton thrill you with emotion, as you remember these poor old women, rejoicing in the right to labor for themselves?

We took up a collection in our old church yesterday, for the monument to be erected for Col. Robert G. Shaw, and the receipts were $27. Think of it; I have seen larger and far more wealthy congregations give less when pressed upon seemingly important occasions. Most of our congregation were women; but be it known to all the world that the negro woman comes first before the people, entitled to equal wages for a like day's work with her husband or son, and what is more, it is her own when she has earned it.

The Rev. Mr. Lynch, a colored man, born and raised in Baltimore, whose mother was once a slave, but who has of his own will educated himself, is now here, and preached to us yesterday one of the most eloquent, and at the same time plain, common-sense discourses that I ever heard.

Are the negroes to be our orators, and actors, and singers, in the time to come? This young man, of twenty-three, was a marvel, and we wept and laughed as if a Phillips or a Beecher stood in the pulpit.

Perhaps the colored congregation drinking in his stirring words, the lone old church in the forest of pines and live-oaks, and the inspiration of the day and hour infused us, but we have seldom heard the like in all the land. FRANCES D. GAGE.

Paris Island, S. C., Sept. 7, 1863.

CURSES COMING HOME.

WHEN the Missouri slaveholders began, seven years ago, the practice of making raids into an adjoining territory for the purpose of murdering and plundering everybody who happened to object to the extension of slavery, and its introduction among them, the groans and lamentations of the Kansas people furnished a good deal of amusement to the very same men at the North who are now horror-stricken by the threats of Gen. Jim Lane. When Lawrence was sacked in 1856, by ruffians from all parts of the South, the general verdict of our Copperheads was, that it served it right, for what was it but a nest of horrible Abolitionists? Providence, however, sometimes so arranges matters that crime shall, even in this world, bring on its own punishment, and the present condition of slavedom is, perhaps, the most awful example the world ever saw of retributive justice. Ferocity on one side of the line naturally produced a desire for vengeance on the other. The "Red-Legs," who now propose to invade Missouri, and lay waste a whole "tier of Counties," by way of retaliation, are the moral offspring of the Missouri "Red-Shirts" of 1856. If there be anything fanatical and ferocious about them, the Missourians have themselves to thank for it. If you treat men as wild animals, they acquire at last the fiercest passions in self-defence, and Northern Copperheads have to-day no more right to be astonished or horrified by the threats of Lane than to be shocked because a dog, pursued with a red-hot poker, bites his assailant.

The war which is now raging really began with the first invasion of Kansas. It was then that the South first appealed from the ballot-box to the rifle, and those who are now most shocked by the struggle, then made merry over the spectacle. We suspect they have by this time grown tired of the joke. We suspect that by the time the last shot is fired in this terrible contest there will be very few advocates left either at the South or the North of the policy of propagating either opinions or institutions within the limits of the Union by the sword and the torch. There is hardly a corner of the South which has not by this time enjoyed a practical experience of the delights of this mode of propagandism, and if we are to believe what the slaveholders say, missionaries who come in the shape of mounted "raiders" are not generally welcome. We suspect that if it were possible to live the last ten years over again, even Robert Toombs would hardly recommend the diffusion of even so great a blessing as slavery at the point of the pistol, and we should have far less abuse of Yankee peaceableness and cowardice than we were once used to. The Yankees must have changed greatly since President Pierce's day. At that time, if one were to judge from the accounts of them given by "their Southern brethren," their retaining possession of their coats even was entirely due to the forbearance of their neighbors. They were as pusillanimous as sheep, but as greedy as vultures. It seems now that a devil has been discovered in them, and they have become the most bloodthirsty and combative of mankind. The lesson of this revelation will certainly not be forgotten, and when the war is over we confidently predict that we shall have all of us got rid of the delusion that there is any better mode of propagating ideas amongst Americans than talking to them. The South has so fairly and fully tried shooting and sacking, that it is in it, and not in New England, we may henceforth expect to find the most ardent apostles of moral suasion.—*Times.*

THE NEGRO BEFORE THE SAVANS.

IN the Ethnological Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, on Friday, Aug. 28th, Dr. James Hunt read a paper "On the Physical and Mental Characteristics of the Negro." The skin and hair, Dr. Hunt said, are by no means the only thing which distinguish the negro from the European, even physically, and the difference is greater still mentally and morally. The skeleton of the negro is generally heavier, and the bones larger and thicker, in proportion to the muscles, than those of the European. The bones are also whiter from the abundance of calcareous salts. The thorax is compressed; the leg is longer than in Europeans, but is made to look shorter on account of the ankle being only between 1¼ inch to ½ inch above the ground; the heel is both flat and long. Burmeister has pointed out the resemblance of the foot and the position of the toes of the negroes to those of the ape, and many observers have noticed that the negro frequently uses the great toe as a thumb. The brain of the negro has a smoky tint, which is not found in that of a European. The hair is essentially different, and consists of coarse, crisp, frizzly wool, which grows in tufts like the wool of sheep. The voice resembles sometimes the alto of a eunuch, and there is always a peculiarity in the negro voice by which he can easily be distinguished. Dr. Lewis Buchner, after summing up the peculiarities of the negro, says they exhibit the most decided approach to the ape. Other distinguished medical writers had expressed a similar opinion. The assertion that the negro only requires an opportunity for becoming civilized is disproved by history. The African race have had the benefit of the Egyptian, Carthaginian and Roman civilization, but nowhere did they become civilized. The many cases of civilized blacks are not pure negroes, but in nearly every case they have European blood in their veins. In the West Indian Islands it has frequently been observed that all the negroes in places of trust which require intelligence have European features. Negro children are precocious, but no advance in education can be made after they arrive at the age of puberty; they still continue mentally children. It has been said that the present slaveholders of America no more think of rebellion amongst their full-blooded slaves than they do of rebellion amongst their cows and horses (hisses). That was because the tranquillity of negroes in their approach to civilization resembled the content of domestic animals. From all the evidence brought forward the writer of the paper saw no reason to believe that the pure negro ever advances further in intellect than an intelligent European boy of fourteen years of age. The writer could see no evidence to support the opinion of some writers that the negro had degenerated from some higher form of civilization. Everywhere we see the European as the conquering and the dominant race, and no amount of education will ever alter the decrees of Nature's laws. The general deductions he would make were—First, that there is as good reason for classifying the negro as a distinct species from the European as there is for making the ass a distinct species from the zebra; second, that the negro is inferior intellectually to the European; third, that the analogies are far more numerous between the negro and the ape, than between the European and ape. There was in the negro that assemblage of evidence which would induce an unbiased observer to make the European and negro two distinct species. It is by observation and experiment that we can determine the exact place in nature which the negro race should hold, and it is both absurd and chimerical to attempt to put him in any other. (The conclusion of the paper was received with mingled cheers and hisses.)

Mr. William Craft, who was received with cheers, said that though he was not of pure African descent, he was black enough to attempt to say a few words in reference to the paper which had just been read. While Dr. Hunt was reading it, a table occurred to him which he would, with the permission of the audience, repeat. A lion and a man were walking together along the road, and disputing as to which of the two could claim to belong to the superior race. By and bye they came to a public house, the sign of which was a lion violently held down by a man. The man triumphantly pointed to this in confirmation of his superiority; but the lion sagely inquired who painted the picture. With regard to the origin of the negro, he for one believed that white and black men were all descended from a common parent (cheers). Many scientific gentlemen present would probably dispute that; but at any rate, supposing Adam to have been the founder of a race of men, white men had no stronger claim to him as their father than black men, as it was admitted that, owing to the climate in which he commenced his existence he could have been neither black nor white, but copper-colored (laughter). As Africans were very dark, and the inhabitants of Northern Europe very fair, and as, moreover, the nations of Southern Europe were much darker than those of Northern Europe, it was perfectly fair to suppose that climate had a tendency to bleach as well as to blacken ("Hear," and laughter). The thickness of the skull of the negro had been wisely arranged by Providence to defend the brain from the tropical climate in which he lived. If God had not given them thick skulls, their brains would probably have become very much like those of many scientific gentlemen of the present day ("Hear," and laughter). The woolly hair was not considered by Africans as a mark of inferiority, though some of them shaved it off, but it also answered the purpose of defending the head from the sun. With regard to his not being a true African, his grandmother and grandfather were both of pure negro blood. His grandfather was a chief of the West Coast; but through the treachery of some white men, who doubtless thought themselves greatly his superiors, he was kidnapped and taken to America, where he (Mr. Craft) was born. He had recently been to Africa on a visit to the King of Dahomey. He found there considerable diversities even among the Africans themselves. Those of Sierra Leone had prominent, almost Jewish features. Their heels were quite as short, on the whole, as those of any other race, and upon the whole they were well formed. Persons who had any knowledge of Africans knew that, when they enjoyed advantages, they were capable of making good use of them. He might refer to the instance of the little girl brought to this country by Capt. Forbes. This child was presented to the Queen, who had her carefully educated. When she grew up, she mingled in good society, and interested every one by her proficiency in music, and recently she had been married to a commercial gentleman of color at Lagos. Another case was mentioned by Mr. Chambers in one of his works, and another case was that of Mr. Crowther, who was well-known to many gentlemen in this country. One word with reference to the ancient Britons. When Julius Cæsar came to this country, he said of the natives that they were such stupid people that they were not fit to make slaves of in Rome (laughter). It had taken a long time to make Englishmen what they now were, and, therefore, it was not wonderful if the negroes made slow progress in intellectual development. It was, however, proved that they made very rapid progress when placed in advantageous circumstances. As to the negro not being erect, the same thing might be said of agricultural laborers in this country (hear, hear). He pointed to Hayti as furnishing an instance of independence of character and intellectual power on the part of the negro, and contended that in America the degraded position which he was forced to occupy gave him no chance of proving what he really was capable of doing. He was sorry that scientific and learned men should waste their time in discussing a subject that could prove of no benefit to mankind. He spoke with great deference to their opinions, but, for his own part, firmly agreed with Cowper that

Fleecy locks and black complexion
Cannot alter nature's claim;
Skins may differ, but affection
Dwells in white and black the same.

(Loud and prolonged applause.)

FROM MISSOURI.

Correspondence of The Tribune.

ST. LOUIS, Sept. 10, 1863.

WILLIAM A. EADS, a professional slave-trader of this city, was on Tuesday arrested and committed to the Myrtle street prison on the charge of having kidnapped a negro woman and three children. Several weeks ago Eads took the woman and the children from their home in the alley between Seventh and Eighth streets, near Carr, and forwarded them to Kentucky, where they were sold. He exhibits what purports to be a bill of sale of the negroes to him, from their owner, Thomas Hill, who resides near the Iron Mountain Railroad, in Iron County. The woman's husband, George Mack, says they belonged to Thomas Hill, but left him about a year ago, and have not free papers. The facts were communicated to Gen. Fisk, who made inquiries relative to the matter, and has reported that Thomas Hill made no such sale as Eads sets forth, and that Eads has undoubtedly been guilty of kidnapping.

One Martin Shea, an ex-policeman, was also arrested for aiding in the removal of the negroes and their effects. The matter is now in the hands of the military, and will be thoroughly investigated. This thing of kidnapping negroes has been very common, and should have been looked into long ago. Hundreds of contrabands have been hired in this city, run out into the country, and sold again into slavery. It is high time that investigations were made, and so inhuman and abominable a practice ended. Examples should be made of those engaged in it, and, though the beginning is late, it is not too late to make a

done which we would rather see left undone, and which our own national interests call upon us to stop."

Towards the conclusion of the article *The Times* awakens to the fact, of which it has hitherto remained in total oblivion, that we have ourselves maintained the principle now in issue as well as the Americans, and that "during the Crimean war we addressed a protest to the Washington government on the subject of a vessel believed to be destined for Russian use, and the Americans listened to us." The last words of the article are—"On both sides, therefore, it is felt that neutrals should not supply belligerents with vessels of war, yet a Confederate cruiser is said to be somewhere in British waters awaiting the appearance of her new consort at a rendezvous. Can this be right? We think not.

"It is not a question of sympathy at all, but a question of law, and we may once more add, of British interests. If we were unhappily plunged again into war, we might soon find reason to wish that we had supported with greater zeal the representations of the Unionists in the matter of these Southern cruisers."

After this, sir, I think we are entitled to ask, who are the "traitors" to the honor of England—those who in April last counseled her to listen to the voice of justice, or those who, having at that time counseled her to be deaf to the voice of justice, now counsel her to listen to the voice of fear?

I am, etc.,
GOLDWIN SMITH.

FROM WASHINGTON.

Correspondence of The Chicago Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 8, 1863.

The New York *Herald* and other semi-disloyal sheets continue to give currency to the falsehood that the Cabinet are divided on the emancipation policy of the President, as contained in his proclamation, and affirmed in his recent Springfield letter. There is not the slightest foundation, in fact, for these statements. I have the very best authority for saying that there is not now, never has been, and not the slightest prospect that there ever will be any division of opinion concerning the members of the Cabinet in regard to the enforcement of the proclamation or its validity. No man, in any official position, has expressed the least opposition to the President's policy in this regard. On the other hand, men are daily coming over to the great truth—that slavery must die, that liberty and union may live in this country.

Reverdy Johnson recently expressed the opinion that no man set free by the proclamation, or otherwise, by the necessities of the war, could be reënslaved. Governor Andy Johnson, of Tennessee, has recently announced a similar position.

Old Mr. Blair, a Marylander and a slaveholder, said in the hearing of the writer yesterday, that he was "for destroying slavery root and branch"; and in saying this he undoubtedly expressed the sentiments of his son, the Postmaster-General, as well as of the whole Blair family. Take to yourselves no consolation then ye Copperheads, on account of any supposed division in the Cabinet, or among loyal men on this vital question. There is no such division and never will be. Mr. Seward is most earnestly in favor of "keeping the promise made by the Commander-in-Chief to our colored fellow citizens, who are so gallantly taking up arms for the defence of the Union, and for the achievement of their own liberties." Over thirty thousand colored soldiers are now actually in the field doing service. Fifty thousand more will wear Uncle Sam's uniform before January. Recently I saw a young colored man at the War office with the insignia of a Major on his coat. This is as it should be. Whatever is wanting to make the colored soldier in all respects equal with the white soldier, Congress will soon supply.

I here and now forewarn Copperheads of all degrees, that one of the first and most important measures to come before the next Congress will be an universal Emancipation Bill, which will make slavery in all parts of the United States an odious crime, forever hereafter, inflicting the penalty of death upon whomsoever shall dare to violate it after it shall have become a law. And I moreover assure negro-haters and negro-owners, and all their backers of whatever name, that such a bill will pass both branches of Congress by a very large majority, and be hailed by the people as the brightest and best of all the great and good and constitutional remedies for treason and rebellion which have been invoked by or during the most glorious administration of father Abraham. No man who faithfully fights for the Union shall hereafter be crushed by its power, or left to wear the shackles of slavery by its neglect. Its benignant and just protection will be extended into all the land and unto all the inhabitants thereof. In the glorious future of this to-be truly free land of ours, "every State will be guaranteed a republican form of government," and "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law." Man-stealing will be a foul crime, and never more be called by respectable names, fostered and courted by political parties, or baptized by the Church. Slavery is forever doomed—"the promise," thank God, "will be kept," and the people will say amen!

SERVITUDE FOR LIFE (A BRIEF DIALOGUE).

BY J. M. LUDLOW.

From Macmillan's Magazine.

Frederick Maximus.—Harkee, here, Dan, you black nigger rascal. You're no longer a slave, you're a servant hired for life.

T. C. Niger.—By golly! Wife and chil'n servants for life too, massa?

F. M.—Yes, all you niggers. But you must work all the same, you know.

T. C. N.—Iss, massa. What wages you gib?

F. M.—Wages, you rascal? Quart of corn a day and three shirts and pantaloons a year, for legal hours of work; fourteen hours a day for half the year, and fifteen the other half.*

T. C. N.—Any privileges, massa?

F. M.—Privileges? Ha! ha! Yes, privileges of John Driver's whip, or of such other punishment as I choose to inflict, and of not being believed on oath if you go and peach against me, and of being sold down South when I please, and of being converted by any parson whom I choose to allow.

T. C. N.—H'm. Wife and chil'n my own dis time, massa?

F. M.—Ha! ha! ha! Yes, till I or Mr. Overseer want them. But you have the privilege of taking another wife as often as I allow it, and of having as many children as it pays me to bring up.

T. C. N.—Beg pardon, massa, but what for you call me servant hired for life?

F. M.—What for, you rascal? Because a great man, after whom I named you, when he had written a d—d good book on the "nigger question," says that it is all the difference between you and those mean, white-livered Yankee working men, who are hired by the month or the day.

T. C. N.—Massa, if him book good book, why's I not privileged to learn read it?

F. M.—Read, you infernal scoundrel! Why, if any one were to help you to learn, the law gives him fine and imprisonment or lashes,* and what do you suppose you'd get? So off with you—— Stay—how old is that yellow nigger, your wife's daughter?

T. C. N.—Born three weeks 'fore Miss Susy, massa.

F. M.—She'll fetch a right smart price at Mobile, now that New Orleans——

T. C. N.—(Aside, while going away.) Dey say de Yankees aint bery long way. Wish dey was heeah. Wish dey'd gib me a rifle 'fore I dies.

*Laws of South Carolina.

THE RADICAL POLICY VINDICATED.

How gloriously has the radical policy, of which Massachusetts has been the stoutest upholder, been vindicated by the good sense of the people and of the President and by the necessities of the times! Two years ago, when Mr. Sumner called for the enlistment of black men, and the carrying of Africa into the war, he was alternately sneered at and denounced by a majority of the Republican newspapers of the State. One year ago, only a bold and defiant system of tactics carried him through the Convention and placed him before the people, who, as his friends believed, and as the result proved, were eager and determined to sustain him. Now all Republican opposition to him is hushed; no critical Republican lawyer comes out in *The Advertizer* to carp at his Latin and his historical precedents. If they are faulty, who cares? Nobody. Nobody cared in 1861, and nobody cares now. A young lawyer, fresh from Cambridge and from Plutarch and Horace and Cicero, may possibly get the upper hand of even Mr. Sumner or Mr. Everett in a matter of classical quotation. Horace Mann and Dr. Beck are believed to have got the better of Mr. Webster and Prof. Felton in the discussion of the "*captatores verborum*," but the campaigns from 1850 to 1862 were not materially affected by that classical debate, racy as it was. Everybody now puffs Mr. Sumner; the conservative newspapers endorse him, and the Boston merchants and bankers are enthusiastic over his recent speech. This is no time, evidently, for Massachusetts to follow so-called "conservative" counsels. Mr. Lincoln, in his recent letter to Illinois, is radical enough for Massachusetts, and the only thing to be done is to support and strengthen him, not only against Copperhead opposition, but against insidious and treacherous New Yorkism. There are several very sneaky expressions in Seward's recent diplomatic circular which mean mischief. He talks about the slaves who have "accepted" the proclamation of freedom. He might just as well say or intimate that no man has "accepted" the writ of habeas corpus or the right of trial by jury except those who have occasion to avail themselves of the privilege of one or the other. Every man, woman and child, held as a slave on the first of January in the States or parts of States mentioned in the proclamation, is now legally free, whether he will or no, and if he continues in actual servitude, it is the fault of the North, people, Congress, Courts or President, one or all of these. The strife is, and is to be in 1864, between those who wish and mean to make terms with the rebel leaders and conspirators for political ends, leaving slavery in the States to be reëstablished or to be gradually extinguished, and those who extend the right hand of fellowship to the overborne Union men of all colors in the South, hundreds and thousands of whom only wait for a word of encouragement to make them spring up zealous and radical Abolitionists like the men of Missouri, who put to shame the cowards of the Middle States and some here in New England. By no means let Mr. Lincoln be embarrassed, but let him be strengthened. He does not *mean* to reënslave the freedmen of the South, or to permit their reënslavement.

How nobly have the New England States, the home of anti-slavery ideas, responded to the President's policy. There was no flinching in Maine from the logical results of the political argument, while new York and Pennsylvania, which have been backing and filling ever since 1860, were lost to us a year ago and are in doubt now. The Maine election is the most glorious political event of the year. We could better afford to lose both of the States where politics is mere gambling, than a State where political questions are determined on their merits. Only once in four years do the people of New York rise above the Albany swindlers, but in Maine, as in most of the other New England States, every election which is properly contested means something. The partizan orators and editors in a severe contest like that just closed down east, inevitably take extreme ground. Thus, Virgil D. Parris went stumping about advocating the absolute and entire repudiation of the national debt. Bradbury, like Horatio Seymour, tried to back out of the unpatriotic position in which his friends at the State Convention put him, but he could not do it. Every day's debate made the Democrat more a Copperhead, and the Republican more an Abolitionist. And the result has been published. It is the DOWNFALL AND DEATH OF COPPERHEADISM.—"*Warrington*," *in The Springfield Repub.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1863.

GOING TO THE COUNTRY.—The Editor of THE STANDARD, after putting this number to press, will leave the paper for a few weeks, to seek rest and recreation in the country. If, in the hands of the good friends who have so kindly volunteered to edit it in his absence, it shall seem to the readers to be much improved, they will know how to account for the fact, and will give credit accordingly.

Letters for publication or on business to be addressed as usual. Private letters for the absent Editor may be addressed, till the 16th of October, to Hamorton, Chester Co., Pa.

THE ONLY RECONSTRUCTION POSSIBLE.

THE President's proclamation suspending the writ of *Habeas Corpus* has struck a powerful and well-directed blow at the rebellion. None the less powerful or well-directed, and all the more effectual, because it is aimed at its allies among ourselves. It is comical, as well as satisfactory, to see the concern of the men who held that any law was constitutional and any act lawful which intended the comfort of slavery and the discomforting of Abolitionists, lest the Constitution should suffer harm, and the liberties of the people disappear under the encroaching tyranny of Abraham Lincoln. One would suppose that the long-suffering President, whose fault certainly has not been undue and excessive haste, were a Bonaparte or a Cæsar crushing out the liberties of a nation under the heel of his unhallowed ambition. The blame that history will lay upon him will not be of this complexion. It will be that he did not suspend the writ long ago, and deal summarily with the men and the papers who are most blatant on this provocation against him. Unhappily for them the authority by which he has acted is unquestionable. Not merely given in the general terms of the Constitution, but its mode of performance indicated by an Act of Congress. They must make up their minds to it, or take the consequences. And it is already doing the work it was meant to do. The Copperhead Judges have had the thunders of the law taken out of their hands, and the Tombs Shysters are sent empty away. The resort to the Courts, to do what the mobs had failed to accomplish, has been had and failed. The military authorities will have the decision of military cases, and there is no reason to doubt that they will decide them as justly as Judge McCunn and his tribe. It is another dagger struck out of the hands of the enemies of the nation bared to stab her in the back. And while on this subject we would refer to the odd way in which the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of *Ableman and Booth* has been turned from its original design to one Judge Taney little dreamt of. It was meant, as our readers will recollect, to prevent State Courts from taking offenders against the Fugitive Slave law out of the hands of the U. S. Marshals. By the strange turn of affairs, this decision exactly applies to the case of conscripts whom the Copperheads would save from fighting the rebellion by means of the State Courts! It really takes them out of the hands of the State Judges, in point of law, as effectually as the proclamation. But this cures all pettifogging evasions, and makes assurance doubly sure.

It would be amusing, if it were not so disgusting, to see the way in which the ancient allies, and present servants, of the slaveholders lose no opportunity of signalizing their servility at our and their fidelity. It would have the grace of standing by a falling cause, had they not, evidently, hopes that some kind of reconstruction can be engineered, leaving slavery the mainspring of the government, and had they not so far committed themselves to the cause of the rebels as to leave them small chance of public plunder from any hands but theirs. When every protection the States endeavored to throw around the personal liberty of their own citizens was overridden and trampled under foot, they could see nothing but the triumph of constitutional law. When mobs struck at Free Discussion by speech or the press, they justified or excused them as provoked by attempts to evade the constitutional rights of the South. When Kansas was attacked for the express purpose of making her a slave State against her will, they had no word of reprobation for the invaders, and nothing but slanders and insult for the brave defenders of constitutional liberty. But now that the slaveholders are in open rebellion against the nation, and acts of stringent repression are demanded for its suppression and repression of its supporters in the free States, they are thrown into transports of anxiety lest the personal liberties of the citizen should be overthrown and the Constitution trampled in the dust. They see now, as they always have seen, nothing but slavery in the Constitution. Like their masters, the slaveholders, they hold that nothing is unconstitutional that slavery needs for its comfort or defence, while nothing can be constitutional that threatens or endangers it. It makes all the difference in the world whether it is Frank Pierce's bull or Abraham Lincoln's ox that exalts his horn against evil-doers.

These malignants endeavor to make it appear that the Constitution was framed so as to give it no rights of self-defence and self-preservation. Because the precise case of an attempt at disunion is not specially provided for and the method of proceeding laid down, they hold that there is no remedy. Of course, the framers of the Constitution took notice of no such contingency. They would have stultified themselves if they had. They took it for granted that the Union was to last forever, and they furnished sufficient authority for maintaining it, if attacked, by the provisions against insurrection and treason, including the power of suspending the *habeas corpus*. Of course, it furnishes whatever powers is necessary for its own maintenance. If the Common Law be the Perfection of Reason that the lawyers claim for it, it can put no other construction on the powers conferred by it. It is very true that there are no precedents to guide action in our present state of affairs, because none such ever before existed. But it does not follow that we are therefore helpless in the hands of traitors abroad and at home. We are to make precedents now for the direction of future generations, and it behooves us to see that they be sound and wholesome ones. The grand perplexity of the matter lies in the manner how, the war being ended, the rebel States are to be treated. Their friends amongst ourselves desire that they should be received as brothers beloved, bygones to be bygones, and they to be placed exactly where they were before they murdered two hundred thousand of our men, and worse than wasted two thousand million of our hard-earned dollars. *The World* is liberal enough to propose that we should pay them for what they have spent as well. But even that Representative Press would probably compromise for their restoration to their former political *status*, the revocation of the edict of Emancipation, the restitution of all slaves taken or escaped, and payment for those that cannot be caught. We hardly think the people will be quite ready to agree even to this modified form of pacification; but nothing less could content the friends of Gov. Seymour and their authentic organs, such as *The Express*, the Boston *Courier*, the Chicago *Times*, and their like, for nothing less would secure the possession of the government and all the blessings flowing therefrom to their party.

Now we do not deny that it is a question of the very gravest character, what is to be done with the rebels, after they have been subdued, or are willing to come back on terms. Strictly speaking, every inhabitant of the revolted States has forfeited his life and property—the loyal as well as the disloyal. If the United States are able to do it, they have the absolute legal right of putting every inhabitant of those States to death, and taking possession of all the property therein. Of course, as the greater includes the less, they can visit their conquered rebels with any milder forms of punishment they may think the case demands. They may, with entire justice, reduce them to the condition of territories and govern them by military law, as long as it may be necessary. They may impose what conditions they please on the restoration of those States, or any new modification of them to national political rights. That this will be done, sooner or later, is obvious. Neither the genius of the nation nor the spirit of the age would tolerate any prolonged state of subjection, after due chastisement had. When the time for this arrives there must be a Reconstruction. There will be no need of a new Constitution or a new Union; but there can never be the Constitution as it has been and the Union as it used to be. The Constitution as it now stands will cover the new necessities of the country; but it will mean something very different from what Courts have ruled it to mean, and much more like what its framers hoped and believed it would be, long ere this, by the natural death of slavery. We can discern but one way of escape out of the dilemma in which we shall be placed when the time of reconstruction comes, and that way we should be making ready with all speed. The President has begun this work, and the nation should demand of him and of Congress to finish it immediately. Let slavery be abolished, everywhere and at once, by national authority, as a war measure, necessary to the existence of the nation, and the material difficulty in the way of reconstruction would be removed. Let there be not a month of gradualism, and not an exception, with whatever compensation to men of approved loyalty Congress may think just, and the most effectual step will have been taken for the restoration of the nation. If the rebels will consent, or can be compelled, to come into line on these conditions, and these only, the main objection to readmitting them to Congress would be removed. As long as slavery is suffered to exist anywhere, the country could not be safe with them in Congress, with the Copperheads to do their bidding. The absolute abolition of slavery in the country, loyal States and all, is an essential condition precedent of future peace and prosperity. Without it we can have neither. With it we are sure of both. The President and Congress can give us this guaranty for our future. Will they refuse it? Not if the nation demand it.

LOYALTY AT THE SOUTH.

THOMAS J. DURANT, a noted lawyer in New Orleans, made a speech before the Union Association of that city recently, in which he stood up boldly for the validity of the Emancipation proclamation in the following words:

"The President of the United States gave the people of Louisiana fair warning that if they came not out from the rebellion, he would set free all these unwilling instruments that they were using for the overthrow of liberty and free government on this continent; and when they refused, he, on the 1st of January, 1863, in the exercise of his constitutional powers, by the Emancipation proclamation, declared them freemen, and in his opinion every loyal citizen was solemnly pledged to support him in his course. There might be differences of opinion in regard to the expediency of the policy, but the duty of every man was clear—they should see that the 237,000 slaves in Louisiana, with the exception of those in two congressional districts, were set free. When Gen. Hunter took command of the department of the South, he declared by proclamation that all the slaves in South Carolina, Georgia and Florida were free. This was set aside by his superior officer—the Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy of the United States. But no one has ever set aside the proclamation of January 1, 1863, and he prayed God that no one ever would. It would be the basest ingratitude now to do so, after they had shed their blood so freely in defense of the Union. Every one present, he thought, might make up their minds that if they could not live in Louisiana as a free State, they would not live here at all."

While the true friends of the government at the South are thus supporting the Emancipation policy, is it not a shame that some of the professed friends of freedom at the North are hinting to the President that he may set aside his proclamation, if thereby he can make peace with the slaveholders?

Louisiana is not the only Southern State in which anti-slavery sentiments are cherished by loyalists. Here, for example, is an extract of a letter written in New Orleans, not to a Republican paper, but to the New York *Herald*, describing the state of feeling in Texas:

"There is nothing more aggravating to 'loyal Southern men' than the attempts of a certain class of demagogues at the North to force upon them conditions of peace and slavery without consulting in any manner the peoples most interested in the future of the rebel States. Let me here say that, coming from Texas as I do, and so recently, too, I can say that the loyal men of that State (and there are thousands) are willing to and do indorse the Administration in all its war measures, and are waiting to assist in putting down the rebellion by any measure or movement, no matter what it may be, that has for its aim the crushing out of treason. There is a class of semi-oath of allegiance, property-saving, loyal-traitor men, who have objections to some of the measures calculated to bring some scoundrels into due obedience to the law, and give them some ideas of their duty to their country and their country's God. The truly loyal men desire to see peace—indeed are anxious for it; *but with it must come the sure and certain destruction of the Slave Power and slavery in these States. They will consent to no compromise that will extend any privilege to the 'institution' beyond a very limited period of time, and many are anxious to see it extinguished from this moment, and would so order it were they in possession of the power.*

"Let the Administration be sustained until the rebellion is crushed, and when peace is restored and the laws obeyed, then and then only should men look after 'party lines' and this or that 'plank' in those terrible 'platforms' upon which rests the airy castle of some snobby political demagogue."

The editor of *The Herald* was less vigilant than usual, or the readers of that paper would not have been permitted to see in its columns this important testimony as to the sentiments of the true loyalists of the South.

In Maryland, too, the sentiment of hostility to slavery is growing rapidly. The address of the Unconditional Union Central State Committee to the people of Maryland says:

"We disavow all measures for the violant abrogation of slavery in our midst. We claim that in the exercise of our prerogatives as American citizens we owe it to ourselves to discuss fairly and finally to dispose of the evil, and we hereby solemnly declare it to be our conviction that the dignity, honor and prosperity of our people alike demand that we should legally and constitutionally abolish the institution at the earliest period compatible with the best interests of the State, and the permanent welfare, stability and unity of the nation. Since the people know that the substance of slavery is already gone, and that only the skeleton has been left, we are of the opinion that the sooner the skeleton is removed, the better it will be for the true interests of the State and the nation. The men we present to you are in favor of supporting the Administration in every effort to put down the rebellion, and in every measure which it has thought necessary for the permanent peace of the country when the rebellion shall have been subdued. We believe that the only way to put down the rebellion is to put it down by force of arms. For this purpose we are willing to vote every dollar necessary, and give every available man, black or white. We do not think ourselves at all superior to our ancestors of revolutionary memory, who fought side by side with colored troops, nor to Andrew Jackson, who commanded and complimented the colored militia who fought with him at New Orleans. We believe it is the bounden duty of the President to use all the force and every weapon which God has put within his grasp and the laws of the United States have authorized him to wield in defence of the nation. Traitors have no choice as to the weapons to be used in their destruction, and loyal men only ask that they be speedy and sure."

A PETITION FOR THE RELEASE OF COLONEL CREAGER.

WEST CHESTER, Pa., Thursday, August 20, 1863.

To His Excellency ABRAHAM LINCOLN, *President of the United States.*

MR. PRESIDENT: The Philadelphia *Inquirer* of Wednesday, Aug. 19, has a letter from Baltimore which says: "Col. Creager was arrested in Frederick City last Saturday, and imprisoned in the jail of that place, upon the charge of inducing slaves to enlist as soldiers." . . . . "There is a law in Maryland which makes the act of enticing slaves from their masters a penitentiary offence," etc. The writer adds: "Colonel Creager is still in jail," and for his release I now petition your Excellency, and will proceed to give my reasons therefor, and quote the law and the Constitution and other writings to support my argument.

It may be in your recollection that I sent you two petitions, with arguments attached, for the release of Capt. Gordon, who was under sentence of death for dealing in slaves. I petitioned for his release upon the ground that "we the people" of the United States were all slaveholders (that is to say, the dominant party of "we the people"), therefore we should not put to death one when we were all guilty and all deserved hanging. What was law for Capt. Gordon should be law for the slaveholders of Maryland; those who resist the laws of the United States deserve punishing, whether they be slaveholders in Maryland or slave-dealers on the ocean.

The United States as a nation has a right to the services of all her people for defence. In a valuable and interesting work recently published, entitled "Intellectual Development," by Professor Draper, of New York, on page 620, I find this passage:

"Whatever may be the facts under which, in the different countries, such an organization takes place, or the political forms guiding it, the basis upon which it must rest is universal education, and if necessary *compulsory* education. In the more enlightened places the movement has already nearly reached that point. Already it is an accepted doctrine that the State has rights in a child as well as its parent, and that it may insist on education. Conversely also that every child has a claim upon the government for good instruction. After providing in the most liberal manner for that, free countries have but one thing more to do for the accomplishment of the rest. That one thing is to secure intellectual freedom as completely as the rights of property and personal liberty have been already secured"—[in the free States, should have been added].

The assertion is that "it is an accepted doctrine that the State has rights in the child." If this be an accepted doctrine, it is still more the doctrine and the law in all countries that the State has the first right to all the men for its defence. Any other doctrine and any other law would allow the State to be overrun by any invader, and the persons and property of the inhabitants seized at will. "The lesson is that the government of the world is accomplished by immutable law, it shows society under the finger of law, laws asserting their universality and paramount control in the government of the world and yet not inconsistent with the free action of man."

The slave masters in Maryland resist the law, and refuse to allow their slaves to be enrolled as soldiers, and imprison the enrolling officer.

I will suppose, for the sake of the argument, that all the laboring population of Maryland be slaves, and that one man, claiming to own the whole, refuses to allow them to be enrolled. It is self-evident that such State must be defended by sister States, or delivered up to the control of the rebels! The stating of the proposition is sufficient to show that the State has the first right to the services of every person within its limits.

The Constitution gives power to Congress to organize, arm and discipline the militia, and to provide for calling forth the militia, but does not designate whether the militia shall be white or black, free or slave. In accordance with this provision the Congress has passed a law ordering all the male inhabitants of the United States between certain ages to be enrolled, and a certain portion of them to be called forth to assist in suppressing the rebellion.

Neither the Constitution nor the laws mentions the color or condition of the person called forth, except the physical condition necessary to endure the soldier's life.

Such is the Constitution and such is the law; were it otherwise it would be unjust. To enlist a man in New York who owns himself, and to omit to enlist a man in Maryland because some one else claims to own him, is palpably unjust. A man may resist the draft himself and suffer the consequences, it is a personal affair with him; he may prefer to suffer the punishment of the law rather than submit to be a soldier; this, as said before, is a personal affair, but the slaveholder has no such excuse; he is a third party, who comes between the man and the government and claims to be superior to both. His crime is so much the greater—he defies his own government and tries to prevent the calling forth the militia to support it. His treason is of a deeper die than that of the man who is himself the sufferer, and ought to receive the greater condemnation.

In New York the rioters went so far as to destroy the house and the papers and maltreat the enrolling officers, but they did not go so far as the slaveholders in Maryland have gone. These latter have, under State laws, seized the person of Col. Creager and incarcerated him in the common jail!! In New York an army has been placed in and around the city to compel the unruly to submit to the law and fill up the ranks of the army to keep down rebellion *in Maryland;* while the slaveholder in Maryland, although he is called a Union man, steps in between the government and the man who is willing to enlist, and thus requires New York to send more men to protect Maryland!!

The slaveholder claims a right in the slave, but it is only a right of property, which may be measured by dollars, and for any injury done him the court of claims is open for redress. The government has a right under the Constitution to take private property for public use by paying a just compensation therefor, but the slaveholder owes the government three hundred dollars for every drafted slave whom he detains from the service, and this amount he must pay in cash before he can get his slave exempt.

The government has the same right over the slave that it has over the free man; all governments have the right of life and death over all their people—the right to put them to death if they do wrong, and the right to call them forth in the defence of their country, whereby their life is liable to be taken by the enemy. The only right which a slaveholder has in his slave is the right to his labor, and this is a small right compared to the right of the government. There is scarcely a man enlisted in the Northern States, from whom some other man does not claim the right of service or labor, and if this claim were to be set up by Northern proprietors, as it is by Maryland planters, the army would soon be depleted and the rebels allowed to ride rough shod over the land.

I have thus, Mr. President, copied the Constitution and the law to show that you have a right to enlist the slaves into the army, not for your instruction, for you know that already, but for the instruction of the slaveholders who deny your authority. By slaves I mean those who have not been liberated by the acts of Congress or your proclamation.

Therefore, for the reasons above stated, I petition and pray for the release of Col. Creager, now held in durance by the slaveholders for doing a lawful act. And I further pray that the aiders and abettors of this imprisonment may be awarded, as the enemies of Daniel of old were rewarded, by being incarcerated in the same prison to which their malignity consigned an officer of the United States, and as in duty bound will ever pray.

AN AMERICAN CITIZEN.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY reaches our table just as we are going to press. We have only room for the list of articles: Charles Lamb's Uncollected Writings; My Palace; The Deacon's Holocaust; The United States Armory; The Pewee; Mrs. Lewis; The Conquest of Cuba, by C. C. Hazewell; Equinoctial; The Legend of Monte del Diablo; Life Without Principle; Barbara Frictchie, by J. G. Whittier; A Letter to Thomas Carlyle, by D. A. Wasson; Voluntaries, by R. W. Emerson; Our Domestic Relations—or, How to Treat the Rebel States—by Charles Sumner; Reviews and Literary Notices. Boston: Ticknor and Fields.

PERSONAL.

B. Gratz Brown and Gen. Ben. Loan are the "radical" candidates for United States Senators from Missouri.

Gen. Hunter is in St. Louis, whither he has gone to preside over the commission charged with the investigation of the burning of the steamer Ruth.

We have received, under the frank of the Secretary of State, two copies of "Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs"—1862—for which we hereby respectfully tender our thanks.

A London paper says that Kossuth is now residing in the environs of Turin. He is in actual want of the necessaries of life; his wife is in a rapid consumption, and he is soured against the world in a pitiful degree.

The death of Gen. Sam Houston is again reported. The Richmond *Whig* says that he died on the 25th of July at his residence in Huntersville, Texas. He was 70 years of age.

Says the Boston *Christian Register*: "A half-size bust, in plaster, of Rev. Octavius B. Frothingham has recently been modelled by a young New York artist, which is one of the most successful works, in this difficult department of art, we have seen. A copy is on view at 245 Washington street."

Mrs. Frances D. Gage will return to the North in a few days, to spend the remainder of the Autumn and the coming Winter in lecturing—for the most part, probably, though not exclusively, on behalf of the Freedmen. Those who wish to engage her services may address her, for the present, to the care of the Editor of THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

Gen. Butler was serenaded in Philadelphia on Friday evening, 18th inst., and in response made a brief speech, alluding to the important part taken by Pennsylvania in the war for the Union, and hoping she will be on the side of the Union in the contest in October. The General has entered into the canvass in Pennsylvania in favor of the reëlection of Gov. Curtin. His first speech was made at Harrisburg.

The Independent says: "Mr. Beecher, at the time of his last writing, was in Dresden, expected to leave on the 1st of September for Berlin, and to reach London about the middle of the month. If he should speak in England, he will not be home till the 1st of November, otherwise he may be expected about the middle of October. His health and spirits were good."

Charlotte Cushman has arrived in Boston, and has volunteered a performance at the Boston Theatre for the benefit of the Sanitary Commission. *The Transcript* says: "Miss Cushman's home for a number of years past has been in Rome, and she will return next month, we understand, to her residence in that city, where she is honored alike by native and stranger residents. All welcome to her on her brief visit to Boston, her native city."

The Springfield *Republican*, to give a peculiar emphasis to a passage, highly eulogistic of Mr. Seward, from the address of Rev. A. D. Mayo at Antioch College, introduces it with the remark, that the author is "one of the most radical of radical Abolitionists." This is unfair to Mr. Mayo, who has always been careful not to indentify himself with the class of people referred to, and who is no more a radical Abolitionist than the Springfield *Republican* is a radical Abolition paper.

A beautiful drawing of the last resting place of Humboldt has been executed lately by a German artist, Mr. Fritz Meyer, now in this city. His monument stands in a secluded spot of a park belonging to the Humboldt family at Tegel, near Berlin. It is surrounded by lofty pine trees, which the spectator of the picture may fancy as perpetually sighing over the tomb of the great philosopher of nature. The drawing will probably be engraved and published, as there are many admirers of Humboldt who would be glad to possess it.

Rev. Asa. D. Smith, D.D., of this city has been unanimously elected President of Dartmouth College, in place of Rev. Dr. Lord resigned. He was a native of Weston, Vt., and a graduate of the College, and we suspect he owes his election to the influence of his friend, the present Governor of New Hampshire. He is an able man, and though in former years he was rather "conservative" on the slavery question, he is now so much of a radical as to have denounced slavery as the cause of the war and preached in favor of the President's proclamation of Freedom.

Some weeks since, says *The Evening Post*, ex-President Pierce attended church at Andover, Mass. There were several other citizens of New Hampshire there, who observed him, and who related the following incident: An acquaintance of Mr. Pierce addressed a gentleman, while outside the church, and asked to introduce the ex-President, and without waiting for an answer immediately repeated the names of both. Mr. Pierce immediately extended his hand, but the gentleman coldly answered: "Excuse me, I never shake hands with a traitor."

Anna E. Dickinson spoke at Norristown, Pa., last Saturday evening—on Monday evening at West Chester. The Norristown *Herald* says: "If that young girl is any indication of what a woman can do out of her 'proper sphere,' we trust that woman will hereafter decide herself as to what *is* her 'proper sphere,' instead of leaving it to be determined by persons who have not brains enough to know what is their own. Traitors and Copperheads were of course not pleased with her discourse, but we have the satisfaction of knowing that many Democrats who were present were very much gratified."

William Craft, the American fugitive from slavery, says the London *Dial*, was one of the lions of the British Association for the Advancement of Science at its recent meeting: "After his first speech on Thursday, the Town Clerk of Newcastle, a sound Tory by the way, and an anti-Northerner to boot, encouraged and congratulated Mr. Craft with a generous ardor always stronger in Englishmen than theoretical or political prejudice. The levity with which Dr. Hunt treated the claims of the negro race was well rebuked by the dignity and good taste with which Mr. Craft, notwithstanding the provocation to resentment, conducted his reply, and made the best impression." A sketch of the two speeches here alluded to will be found in another column.

Says the Washington correspondent of *The Tribune*: "The President has recently received a letter from Gen. Grant, in which that officer gives in his hearty adhesion to the policy of the Administration as inaugurated by the proclamation of Freedom, which he terms the most formidable weapon in the national arsenal. He adds that he shall gladly coöperate with Adjt.-Gen. Thomas in the formation of colored regiments, for which two expeditions sent out by him had already brought in many recruits. Gen. Grant incidentally mentions that the rebels have driven into the interior all the slaves on the plantations within ten miles of either bank of the Mississippi."

It was reported, a few days since, that John C. Underwood, who was exiled from Virginia some years since on account of his anti-slavery opinions, had been captured by the rebels and taken to Richmond. We are glad to be assured that the report was false, but sorry to be compelled to add that the rebels have captured another good Union man, named John Underwood, who was obnoxious by reason of his having voted for Mr. Lincoln at the Presidential election, and on account of his uncompromising and influential exertions in behalf of the Union cause since the commencement of the rebellion. He was a resident of the neighborhood in which he was captured, and were it not for the greater lenity which the decline of their fortunes has recently induced among the guerillas, as well as the so-called authorized agents and troops of the rebel government, he would probably have suffered death. As it is, he will be closely confined.

Miss Susannah Evans, a lecturer on Temperance, only 15 years old, arrived here recently from England, and has already spoken once or twice on that subject in this city. Mr. Eastman, American Consul at Bristol, speaking from personal acquaintance, says: "I take pleasure in recommending her to the attention of the citizens of my country, in sustaining her in her philanthropic work. She is a young lady of unusual qualifications in her line of labor. She has for several years been a public lecturer on the subject of Temperance, commencing at the early age of 11. She has lectured with great satisfaction to the hearers, to very many large audiences in England, Wales and Scotland. It is her purpose to commence a series of lectures on the same subject in the United States. While thus sustaining a good cause of reform among the people, it is her intention to devote a portion of the avails of her lectures to mitigate the evils of the war, forced upon the country, in defence of the honor and authority of the government and liberty of the nation, by contributions to the comfort of the wounded soldiery."

It is understood that Gen. Burnside has acquiesced in the cordially expressed wish of the President, and withdrawn his resignation for the present. The Washington *Republican* says: "The statements made in some of the Copperhead journals of the country that Gen. Burnside had resigned in consequence of personal grievances is not true. The General requested, if compatible with public interest, and in view of the completion of his campaign in Tennessee, that he be permitted to resign to attend to his private business, which needed his personal attention. The President promptly replied, complimenting Gen. Burnside upon his brilliant success in Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee, and requested him not to resign, but to remain in the field with his present command, the Army of the Ohio. Gen. Burnside responded that if the public service required his presence in the field, he would sacrifice his private interest and comply with the President's request. Gen. Burnside accordingly remains in the field at the head of his army."

Thurlow Weed, in a letter recently published in the Albany *Evening Journal*, displays his characteristic amiability as follows:

"It is to be regretted that leading, boisterous Abolitionists, who are so free of their abuse of all who differ with them, fail to justify their precepts by their examples. The editor of *The Independent*, whose zeal for the draft led him to rail at all who questioned its wisdom, when drafted himself, ingloriously shirks from taking *his* share of duty and danger! *Shame on such a sneak!* Subject by law to military duty, and constantly pressing others into the field, Mr. Tilton must be craven in spirit, without patriotism, pride or manhood, to skulk a draft himself, while he is merciless in regard to the mechanic and laborer who is compelled to leave his wife and children."

We need not say how utterly false is the pretence that Mr. Tilton has written or spoken one "abusive" or "merciless" word in regard to drafted men, or that in his case precept is inconsistent with example. True, he did not, when drafted, go to the war in person, but he sent in his place a stronger man than himself, an experienced soldier, not liable to draft. If all drafted men had done as well, the ranks of the Union armies would now be full. Mr. Weed's opprobrious epithets injure no one but himself, revealing as they do the irritability that usually results from a life of political intrigue.

THE WOMEN'S LOYAL LEAGUE.

MRS. STANTON, the President, and Miss Anthony, the Secretary, of the Women's Loyal National League, have returned from their Summer vacation, and the work of the League will now be pressed by all the means at their command. The specific object to which they are devoting their energies is, the procuring of ONE MILLION signatures of women to a petition to Congress, praying that body, by a law of Universal Emancipation, to clench the nail driven by the President in his proclamation of Jan. 1st, 1863. The object is of the very highest importance, and the League should have the hearty cooperation of every man and woman in the country. The men should aid them by liberal contributions of money, and the women by circulating the petitions.

Mrs. Josephine S. Griffing is laboring for the League at the West—with what success the following extracts from her letters will show:

"BATTLE CREEK, Sept. 17th, 1863.

"I have organized a League among the colored people here, and they have done nobly. The men asked if they could become members. I was not authorized to say yes, so they said they would do as much as though they were honorary members, and donated to the petition—giving (most of the leading men) 25 cents—so their donations amounted to $8.17 on the petition. Then we have seven voting members to the League and a few honorary members.

"They go right to work with the petition, and two girls have brought in their fifty names and fifty cents. You will send them a badge if possible, as the efforts of these earnest, loyal little ones should be faithfully and justly compensated.

"It would do your heart good to see how the colored people spring up into manh

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 21, 1863.

THE Autumnal campaign is fairly opened, and unless the expectations of our military leaders are entirely without foundation and come to nothing, the country will be electrified by further victories between this date and the meeting of Congress. It is expected that October and November will witness hard-fought battles—in the Southwest and possibly in the East also. The plans of Gen. Lee are not yet understood at the War Department, nor at the headquarters of the Army of the Potomac. This is rendered unpleasantly apparent by the conversation one hears in military circles, and by the gossip which floats up from the Rapidan river, where Gen. Meade and his brave army remain. A heavy battle may be fought on the banks of the Rapidan, or near the river, within a week—and it is also possible that no more serious fighting will take place in Virginia. Everything depends upon the plans of the rebel leaders. Does Jefferson Davis mean to abandon Virginia rather than to give up Georgia and Alabama? If he does, of course there will be no more serious fighting along the border till after the grand contest between the rebels and the government forces in the Southwest is ended. The victories at Port Hudson and Vicksburg were not final, but it is probable that the great battle about to be fought between Rosecrans and Joe Johnston (or perhaps Lee himself is in command there) will be decisive. The general opinion here to-day is that Jeff. Davis has made up his mind to stake everything—not upon a third invasion of Pennsylvania, but—on the defence of Georgia and Alabama, and that he has sent thirty thousand of his best troops, under their best leaders, to make a stand against Rosecrans and Grant. The game is to concentrate the largest body of troops and to defeat Rosecrans, who will fight unaided by Grant and perhaps by Burnside. The only hope left to the rebels now is to beat us at concentration, and so use up our armies in detail. It is now said that Lee has gone to Atlanta, leaving his army here in the hands of one of his subordinate officers. The soundest objection which is made to the entire story is the statement that Jeff. Davis cannot move thirty thousand troops across the territory of the South with sufficient rapidity to deceive us. The Southern railroads are in a horrible condition, and it is an immense undertaking under such circumstances to transport an army from the Rapidan to Georgia. The work, however, may have been commenced weeks ago, for the rebels have always been very good at concealing their military plans—much better than our own military leaders.

It is useless, perhaps, to speculate upon the immediate future, as the news of a single hour may upset the cleverest speculations.

The general situation of the country is very satisfactory at the present time, even including our foreign relations. But I notice that some of our ardent Republican friends are a little too sanguine of the end of the war. *It is not yet at an end.* We are to witness some terrific fighting before the Winter closes round us, or I am greatly mistaken. With good management the rebels will be driven from all their military positions—their armies, as such, will be destroyed before the first day of next May. But two campaigns will have to be waged before the war is over. We are entering upon the first, the Autumnal campaign, and the second and last will be the campaign of the Spring of 1864. That campaign should be the last, and it probably will be. When the fighting is over, some of our greatest dangers will begin. The Emancipation question will then come to the Courts and the polls for a final settlement. I have little doubt about the result. The people of this country will back up their President. Even the Supreme Court will go with President and people. Two years ago rebel sympathizers in this city were confident that the Supreme Court would decide the famous prize cases against the government, upon the ground that the Federal government could not blockade its own territory. To their utter astonishment the Court stood unanimously with the government. There are some things which even Courts dare not do, and one is to outrage the moral sense of the nation. It must be remembered that when the Dred Scott decision was made it undoubtedly suited a majority of the people of the United States.

There is a good deal of uneasiness respecting the condition of our foreign relations. I find that Mr. Sumner's speech has alarmed many persons who were hopeful and confident before they read it. They misunderstand the scope of the distinguished Senator's argument, it seems to me. I am informed by persons who know a good deal of the intercourse of Mr. Seward with foreign governments that there is little ground to fear a foreign war. England is getting alarmed, and is striving to get upon a different tack. She will be very likely to seize the rebel iron-clads before their day for sailing arrives. But my principal reason for believing that we shall have no foreign war is this: Mr. Seward is timid. He wants no foreign war, and will if possible avert it. His caution in foreign matters is commendable, although he is severely blamed for his conduct by impatient Republicans. His policy is a good one, nevertheless. Let us turn neither to the right hand nor the left, but proceed to extinguish the slaveholders' rebellion. That is the first work to be done, and if we are in the humor for more fighting after it is thoroughly done, it will then be early enough to talk about it. But if we succeed, France and England will be courteous enough towards us.

The government is yet at loggerheads with Jeff. Davis on the matter of an exchange of prisoners. The President consents to a partial exchange, but the rebels are dissatisfied on some other point. The friends of captured officers who commanded colored regiments are not satisfied with the position of the government. They insist that *no* exchanges should be made till the rebels agree to make no discrimination against colored soldiers or the white commanders of colored troops. Mr. Lincoln replies to these men that he cannot consent to punish all our captured officers and soldiers with prison life in Dixie because a class are held in confinement. But he will insist that for every soldier or officer of ours imprisoned by Jeff. Davis, a rebel officer or soldier shall be imprisoned in our jails or fortresses. Man for man is his doctrine—and he is probably right. Mr. Lincoln can be trusted upon all these questions, for he will endeavor to do exactly right. He cannot please all, but the majority of the loyal people of the country will be content with his decisions.

AVON.

THE CONTINENTAL MONTHLY for October: John F. Trow, 50 Greene st. Contents:—The Freedom of the Press, by Edward B. Freeland; The Brothers—An Allegory; Unuttered, by Kate Putnam; William Lilly, Astrologer, by Henry Willson; Jefferson Davis—Repudiation, Recognition, and Slavery—by Hon. Robert J. Walker; Diary of Frances Krasinska; Maiden's Dreaming, by E. W. C.; Thirty Days with the Seventy-first Regiment; Reason, Rhyme, and Rhythm, by Mrs. Martha W. Cook; Currency and the National Finances, by J. Smith Homans; October Afternoon in the Highlands; The Isle of Springs, by Rev. Mr. Starbuck; The Restoration of the Union, by Hon. F. P. Stanton; Was He Successful? by Richard B. Kimball; American Finances and Resources, by Hon. Robt. J. Walker; Voiceless Singers; A Detective's Story; Literary Notices.

EAST TENNESSEE.—The Nashville *Union* says:

"The prospects of emancipation look quite hopeful in East Tennessee, and her people will be ready at a very early day to unite in a plan to free the State of Tennessee from a system which enriches a mere handful of citizens—less than the population of one prosperous County, in fact—at the expense of the whole Commonwealth. The logic of the mountaineers may be thus briefly stated. Slavery nourishes pride, aristocracy, and love of despotic government. It is the parent of the present rebellion, which, divested of all its flimsy disguise, is a war against free government. Therefore, it is our duty, as patriots possessing common sense, to remove speedily from our midst the cause of our present troubles and the stumbling of the national Union. We believe that nine-tenths of the loyalists of Middle Tennessee entertain the same opinions."

The Washington correspondent of *The Tribune* says:

"Loyal refugees from East Tennessee, who are familiar with the sentiments of the people there, assert that a majority of the slaveholders in that section will vote and would have voted in favor of Emancipation, had an opportunity been given them to freely do so. They contend that emancipation of the negroes will also give freedom to the poor class of whites who have heretofore been mere serfs to the lordly, slaveholding, secession proprietors, and this point is now fully understood by the white people. They do not expect nor do they wish the State to be received back into the Union unless with absolute freedom and protection for all. Confident that this result will be attained they patiently suffer and bide their time."

PHILADELPHIA NOTICE.

FOR the sake of a more prompt delivery, and as a matter of general convenience, Philadelphia subscribers will—on and after the first week in October—be served with THE STANDARD by mail, instead of by carrier as heretofore. If in the meantime any should have directions to give in regard to their address, they will please send them to the Anti-Slavery Office, 106 North Tenth street, Philadelphia.

CHANGE OF PUBLIC SENTIMENT IN ENGLAND.—A private letter—says the correspondent of *The Tribune*—was received in Washington, a few days since, from an American gentleman now in Great Britain, where he enjoys excellent opportunities of information. The writer says that a remarkable change has come over the public opinion of England within the last few weeks. It now favors the North as strongly as it has heretofore favored the South. Among the distinguished converts is Mr. Gladstone, who will take an early opportunity of declaring himself the friend of the Union. The writer is assured upon high authority that the rebel rams will not be permitted to sail, or that if they do sail they will each be escorted by an English iron-clad, instructed to prevent them from violating the neutrality of Britain. It is added that a large amount of capital is awaiting the settlement of the ram question, in order to seek investment in American securities. Our recent victories are regarded as the cause of this change of front by England.

The London *Morning Post* states positively that the steam-rams which Mr. Laird is building for the rebels are to be detained by the government; and *The Herald* has a letter dated at London, Sept. 9, which says:

"I have it from a private and reliable source, that *official notice has been given to Mr. Adams that the iron-clad rams at Liverpool and Glasgow are stopped by the government and wait the decision of a legal tribunal.* This drives the last nail in the rebel coffin. No ray of hope from this side illuminates the cause of the rebellion.

"This decision will be the cue for Louis Napoleon, and as he has declined to act without England, the game of intervention, recognition and assistance on this side may be considered up. The gloom that has been gathering over the secession cause in general, and the mind of John Bull in particular, has now culminated in one grand pall of despair. All that cheeky, exultant tone, which was so rife before the 4th of July, has gone to the tomb of the Capulets. It is not one disaster, or one piece of bad news, but a myriad. You know 'sorrows come not single spies, but in battalions.' These sorrows are for the Southern rebels, and they are caused by the battalions of Uncle Sam."

THE PROSPECT IN OHIO.—Finding that what we said last week of the political contest in Ohio had a discouraging effect in some quarters, we copy now a paragraph from the New York *Times*, giving assurance—on good grounds, we hope—that the traitor Vallandigham has no chance whatever of being elected Governor of the Buckeye State.

"We learn from a gentleman who has lately traversed the State of Ohio leisurely, from one side to the other, that Copperheadism is more completely dead and 'laid out' than ever was a political heresy in any State, before actual election had consigned it to sepulture. War Democrats are declaring themselves by hundreds and thousands. Shrewd men, who have hopes of future life, do not think it safe to show the white feather in time of war. So that, between patriotism and selfishness, the hopes of the Copperheads are utterly blasted. But the most striking fact in the Ohio canvass is the extraordinary unanimity and enthusiasm of the women and children for John Brough, the opponent of Vallandigham. While thousands of these persons were seen and heard, in cities and at depots of railroads, waving handkerchiefs and shouting for Brough, never a one had a word for Vallandigham. Judging by the popular manifestations by the wayside, our informant is confident Vallandigham will not be beaten by less than 100,000 majority."

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE.—We invite the reader's attention to Henry Ward Beecher's opinion of this publication, as expressed a few years since, and copied this week on the fourth page. A new volume begins with the month of October. Boston: Littell, Son & Co.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News in Brief.

The leading feature of the news this week is a desperate fight, on Saturday and Sunday last, between the rebels under Johnston, Polk, Hill and Longstreet, and a part of Gen. Rosecrans's army, under Gen. Thomas, McCook, Crittenden and Van Cleve. The attack was made by the enemy, who threw a very heavy force against the corps of Gen. Thomas, forming the left wing of our army, and at the same time opened fire as a feint upon our right. The aim of the rebel commander was to get between Gen. Rosecrans and Chattanooga, but his plan was quickly developed, and after seven hours' hard fighting, in which the advantage alternated with the opposing forces, the enemy was finally repulsed, and our lines reëstablished as before the engagement. The fighting was entirely by the infantry, as the character of the country was such that artillery could not be effectively used. Our forces captured most of the artillery and sustained less loss in men than the enemy. On Sunday, at 9 o'clock, the engagement was renewed by the rebels, who massed their forces and attempted to carry the left of our position by a series of fierce onslaughts. These assaults were gallantly and successively repelled, and the carnage on both sides was appalling. Foiled in their object, the enemy a few hours later threw themselves against our right and centre, and succeeded in piercing our line, exposing Gen Thomas on the left to a terrible flank attack. This advantage was not long held, however, as reënforcements under Gen. Granger opportunely arrived, and our broken columns again rallying with united front they dashed upon the enemy, driving them back, and punishing them severely. Throughout the day Gen. Thomas's corps gallantly held its ground, repulsing the enemy in every attack, but at 5 o'clock, in order to reëstablish our lines, in a new position, he fell back to Rossville, in the direction of Chattanooga. Our losses in prisoners and wounded are estimated at 3,000. Gen. Rosecrans has determined to concentrate his entire army at Chattanooga. The battle was neither a "crushing defeat" nor a "magnificent victory" for the army of Gen. Rosecrans, or for the army of the rebels. After two days of very severe fighting and of various fortune, Gen. Rosecrans still held his ground, but his prospects, his losses, and the necessities of the situation were such, that on Sunday night he ordered his army to fall back from its advance lines to Chattanooga, at which point it is supposed to have arrived on Tuesday. The result of the fight so far, says a Washington dispatch, is, that the rebels have taken 2,000 prisoners and 20 guns, while we have captured 1,300 prisoners and 10 guns. The unofficial estimate of the rebel forces at 140,000 is regarded in government circles as greatly exaggerated. If, however, as is thought not unlikely, they were nearly 100,000, they largely outnumbered Rosecrans's troops actually engaged. On the whole, those who should know all that is to be known concerning the situation, are confident of the final result. They say that the victory would have been overwhelming had Gen. Burnside been more swift to reënforce the Army of the Cumberland.

From New Orleans we have particulars of an expedition under Gen. Franklin to the mouth of the Sabine River, Texas, which has proved unsuccessful. On arriving at the place designed for the landing of the troops, outside the enemy's fortifications, it was found impossible to disembark owing to the marshy nature of the ground and excessively shallow water. Upon the gunboats Clifton, Sachem and Arizona, therefore, devolved the whole task of attacking the batteries, and they came gallantly up to the work. The bombardment continued some time, gradually increasing in briskness, until the vessels got within point-blank range of the forts, when the enemy suddenly opened a terrific fire, in which they were aided by a fleet of three cotton-clad steamers and a schooner further up the river. At first the fire from our gunboats was more accurate than that of the enemy, and we seemed clearly to be getting the advantage, but unfortunately the Sachem grounded broadside to the rebel fleet, and very soon she was riddled and left an utter wreck. The Arizona's greater draft of water would not admit of her nearer approach to the batteries, and the Clifton was compelled to essay the task of silencing them unaided. In the gallant attempt she also struck hard on the bottom and was not long before meeting a fate similar to the Sachem's. Capt. Crocker, her commander, made an heroic effort to save his vessel, but seeing the matter hopeless, he loaded his after gun with a 9-inch solid shot and fired it through the centre of the ship, crashing the machinery in pieces and effectually destroying the vessel. The Arizona was then forced reluctantly to withdraw, unable to cope singly with the enemy. Besides the vessels' crews we lost as prisoners 98 soldiers who were acting as sharpshooters. The numbers killed and wounded are not very large.

We have news from Charleston Bar to Saturday last. Active hostile operations had entirely ceased, except in the way of preparation on the part of Gen. Gillmore for future telling blows, although progress in this work was necessarily slow. The navy had not attempted anything since the failure of the storming party at Fort Sumter, and it is reported that the enemy had busily availed himself of this period of inactivity to strengthen his fortifications and harbor obstructions. Expectation that our forces on Folly Island were threatened by the enemy on James Island had occasioned extraordinary watchfulness at that post. The equinoctial gales visited the Carolina coast with great severity, but, fortunately, without serious damage either to the shipping or the troops.

The President has given Gov. Andrew of Massachusetts ample assurance that the government did not intend to retreat one jot from its position relative to the exchange of colored soldiers. There is pretty good reason to believe, however, that an exchange will soon commence of all officers and privates not to exceed a sufficient number of similar rank for the colored soldiers and their officers persistently held by the enemy. It is probable that as the other side can gain nothing by retaliation on the colored soldiers and officers, they will consent in the end to make an exchange. They ought to be willing to give up a negro soldier for a rebel in their present strait for troops.—*Wash. Cor. N. Y. Com. Adv.*

The Army and the Negroes.

EVERYWHERE THE AMERICAN GENERAL RECEIVES HIS MOST USEFUL AND RELIABLE INFORMATION FROM THE NEGRO, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom.*"—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

OFFICERS OF COLORED REGIMENTS.

The order prohibiting commissioned officers of the army from receiving appointments as officers of colored regiments has been rescinded, and applications from such officers, accompanied with proper vouchers as to character and ability, sent through the proper channel, will be favorably considered. Good officers are very much needed to take command of the negro troops, and for this reason the order has been rescinded.

CENSUS OF THE CONTRABAND CAMP.

There are at present at the contraband camp in Washington, eight hundred and seventy-nine men and women. Col. Green, Quartermaster, who has charge of them, was lately in New York purchasing cloth to make into uniforms for them. They will, during the Winter, be engaged in basket and clothes making.

ORGANIZATION OF NEGRO TROOPS IN NEW ORLEANS.

New Orleans, Sept. 4.—The organization of negro troops has already been commenced by Gen. Banks. Twenty regiments have been formed, of five hundred men each, but with a full roster of field and company officers. Brig.-Gen. Andrews, who has charge of the Corps d'Afrique—as it is called here—has made a report to Gen. Thomas, in which he recommends that these troops be formed into two divisions of five brigades each. This would necessitate, of course, two Major-Generals and ten Brigadiers. It is not probable that so large an addition will be made to the general officers of the service. The regiments thus formed will probably be filled to the maximum or consolidated. The regiments of white troops which now compose our army consisted originally of 1,080 men or thereabouts. I cannot see any reason why the regiments of blacks should be smaller. The abundance of material and the simple and effective method of procuring men ought to be good reasons for making them, if possible, larger.—*N. Y. Times.*

A dispatch from Washington, dated on Saturday, says: "The Corps d'Afrique, organized under the auspices of Gen. Banks, is rapidly filling up. Fifteen thousand colored soldiers have already been mustered into the service, and recruits are still coming in very rapidly. The maximum strength of the Corps is 25,000."

MUSTERING CAMP FOR COLORED SOLDIERS.

Washington, Sept. 18.—Thomas Webster, Esq., and J. M. McKim, Esq., of Philadelphia, on behalf of the Supervisory Committee for recruiting colored troops in Philadelphia, had an interview with the Secretary of War this morning on that subject. The result will be the issue of an order to construct barracks at Camp William Penn, near Philadelphia, for the reception of colored volunteers from New Jersey and Delaware, the States in which they are raised to be credited with them.

MARYLAND COLORED REGIMENT.

Baltimore, Thursday, Sept. 17.—The Maryland colored regiment, recruited here, made a dress parade this morning from their encampment near the Park, through the city, attracting a general attention. The regiment appeared with full ranks, about a thousand men, and made a splendid appearance. They had a full brass band of colored musicians. Another colored regiment is forming.

NEGRO COLONIZATION OF ROANOKE ISLAND.

The following orders have been issued concerning the colonization of Roanoke Island with negroes:

HEADQUARTERS, ARMY AND DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA, NEWBERN, N. C., Sept. 10, 1863.

GENERAL ORDERS, No. 12.—In accordance with the views of the Major-General Commanding the Department of Virginia and North Carolina, Chaplain Horace James; Superintendent of Blacks for the District of North Carolina, will assume charge of the colonization of Roanoke Island with negroes. The powers conferred upon Brig. Gen. Wilde by General Orders No. 103, Headquarters Department of North Carolina, 18th Army Corps, are hereby transferred to Chaplain James. He will take possession of all unoccupied lands upon the island, and lay them out and assign them, according to his own discretion, to the families of colored soldiers, to invalids, and other blacks in the employ of the government, giving them full possession of the same until annulled by the government, or by due process of United States law. The authority of Chaplain James will be respected in all matters relating to the welfare of the Colony.

By command of Maj.-Gen. PECK.
BENJ. B. FOSTER, Asst. Adjt.-Gen.

COLORS FOR A COLORED REGIMENT.

The 7th Regiment Corps d'Afrique, Department of the Gulf, is without a stand of colors. Its Chaplain, the Rev. T. W. Conway, who is here on leave of absence, on account of sickness, desires to procure one for it. This is a part of that Corps of freedmen referred to by Mr. Seward, in his recent dispatch of August 12th, for the purpose of showing foreign governments that enslaved blacks make brave soldiers, "Exhibiting all necessary valor and devotion in military assaults with desperate courage and fearful loss." To supply this regiment with a stand of colors to cost not more than $300, Mr. Conway has already received the following sums:

Edgar Ketchum	$20.
George C. Ward	25.
R. H. Bowne	10.

Those desirous of contributing to this deserving object can address the Rev. T. W. Conway, No. 7 Barrow street, New York. These troops are about to march through Texas. Who would not send the National ensign to them? Tiffany & Co. are to be the manufacturers.—*Tribune.*

CLERKS FOR NEGRO REGIMENTS.

Thomas Webster, Esq., Chairman of Supervisory Committee.

DEAR SIR: This regiment is much in want of men capable of acting as clerks. We need thirteen, one for each company, and three for Adjutant, Quartermaster, and Surgeon. Practically a clerk is not expected to do any other duty. He is necessarily an enlisted man, and subject to be returned to the ranks in case of misbehavior, but when capable and efficient, is too useful to be lightly displaced.

It would be of very considerable importance both to this regiment and to the success of the general movement, if men of suitable intelligence could be found to fill these positions. A tolerable handwriting and some knowledge of arithmetic are the requisites; all the rest can be taught here. Perhaps such men could be found among our city negroes, who would not care to enlist under ordinary circumstances. If the Committee could aid us in this matter it would be a great benefit. The men should be mustered into this regiment.

The regiment has been hard at work since its arrival—employed in pushing the approaches, building batteries, magazines, etc., always under fire, and under circumstances more trying than a general engagement, as there is all the danger and none of the excitement of actual battle. On the night of the 26th August, out of 150 men in the trenches we had four killed, two severely wounded, and several slightly. Previously we had one killed and two wounded. Last night three severely and one slightly wounded. The men have behaved very well, working cheerfully and coolly in very exposed situations.

Four Captains have joined us here, leaving two vacant companies. Any news as to the progress of the attack is forbidden by General Orders.

Very truly yours, B. G. TILGHMAN.

Camp 3d U. S. C. I.,
Morris Island, S. C., August 30, 1863.

ASSAULT UPON COLORED SOLDIERS BY MARYLAND CAVALRYMEN.

About 3½ o'clock yesterday afternoon, a squad of colored soldiers belonging to Col. Birney's Baltimore regiment, were proceeding along Green street, between Saratoga and Lexington street, when they were assaulted by two soldiers named Henry Hall and James Kelly, privates of the 3d Maryland Cavalry, and one of their number named Isaac Freeman, Corporal of Company A, was seriously and it was feared fatally injured. It seems the colored soldiers had been sent to the city to pick up stragglers belonging to their regiment, and were returning to camp with a number of stragglers, when at the point above named one of these cavalry men accosted them and asked "what in the h—ll they wanted?" They replied that they did not want them; that they were in search of stragglers from the colored regiment, etc. Hall then made some reply, and walking into the street picked up a large paving stone and hurled it at the party, striking Freeman in the face and knocking him senseless to the ground. His nose was broken and his face horribly mashed.

He was carried into the lumber-yard, of Messrs. S. George and Son, where policeman Hickman shortly appeared and had him conveyed to the western district station house, where Dr. Butler was summoned and rendered valuable medical aid. The assailants will be given into the custody of Col. Fish, to be tried by the military authorities. The negroes had muskets with bayonets affixed, and could have done considerable injury to their assailants, but they prudently refrained from any conflict.—*Baltimore Clipper.*

GEN. GRANT AND THE CONTRABANDS.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE TENNESSEE, VICKSBURG, MISS., Aug. 10, 1863.

GENERAL ORDERS, No. 51.—I. At all military posts in States within this Department, where slavery has been abolished by the proclamation of the President of the United States, camps will be established for such freed people of color as are out of employment.

II. Commanders of posts or districts will detail suitable officers from the army as superintendents of such camps. It will be the duty of such superintendents to see that suitable rations are drawn from the Subsistence Department for such people as are confided to their care.

III. All such persons supported by the government will be employed in every practicable way, so as to avoid, as far as possible, their becoming a burden upon the government. They may be hired to planters or other citizens, on proper assurance that the negroes so hired will not be run off beyond the military jurisdiction of the United States; they may be employed on any public works; in gathering crops from abandoned plantations; and, generally, in any manner local commanders may deem for the best interests of the government, in compliance with law and the policy of the Administration.

IV. It will be the duty of the Provost-Marshal at every military post to see that every negro within the jurisdiction of the military authority is employed by some white person, or is sent to the camps provided for freed people.

V. Citizens may make contracts with free persons of color for their labor, giving wages per month in money, or employ families of them by the year on plantations, etc., feeding, clothing and supporting the infirm as well as able-bodied, and giving a portion, not less than one-twentieth, of the commercial part of their crops in payment for such service.

VI. Where negroes are employed under this authority, the parties employing will register with the Provost-Marshal their names, occupation and residence, and the number of negroes so employed. They will enter into such bonds as the Provost-Marshal, with the approval of the local commander, may require, for the kind treatment and proper care of those employed, and as security against their being carried beyond the employer's jurisdiction.

VII. Nothing in this order is to be construed to embarrass the employment of such colored persons as may be required by the government.

By order of Maj.-Gen. U. S. GRANT.
T. S. BOWERS, A. A. A. G.

JUSTICE FOR BLACK SOLDIERS.

Gov. Andrew's visit to Washington is partly for the purpose of seeing if justice cannot be done to the black soldiers. Under what must be considered bad advice, I think, the 54th and 55th regiments refused to take the ten dollars a month offered to them. There was a good pretext for refusal, however, because they were required to receipt in full, and they feared this would cut them off from any additional pay. They and their families suffer for this adhesion to abstract justice. There can be no doubt that the War Department or Congress will remedy this defect in the law or in its interpretation, and that the men will have their $13 a month, like the white soldiers. They are also troubled about their *status*, and here, too, the government ought speedily to do something. I see it stated that the courts of South Carolina are actually trying our black Massachusetts soldiers for violating the laws of that pirate colony! Our authorities are surely now in a condition to *insist* upon the proper treatment of these men. Upon this hangs the whole experiment of raising colored troops. There cannot be two opinions among loyal men, conservative or radical, on this subject. The government must protect its soldiers against the application to them of any trumpery theory which the devotees of the slave despotism may in their rage set up. And the sooner the better. That they will do so before long nobody can doubt. And in this case there is no excuse for delay, because, as I said, there is no difference among loyal men as to the government's duty. Major Stearns is in Tennessee, where he meets with earnest coöperation.—"*Warrington,*" *in The Springfield Republican.*

A FLOURISHING TRADE.

The Secretary of War, it is reported, is using the money paid in to the several enrolling officers for exemption from the draft most effectively. Slavery is so visibly near its end in Maryland that when the late proprietor of the great Carroll estate died, the slaves thereon were officially valued at $5 per head all around—the best being, of course, worth considerably more, and the worst less than nothing. Probably $300 per head would be a liberal cash price for the able-bodied negroes, taking them altogether.

Mr. Stanton, therefore, has agents to look out likely, stalwart slaves who would rather fight three years for their country than work forever for hog and hominy (and not enough of either), and, on finding such who have loyal owners, a bargain is struck that pleases all concerned. The master gets $300 in choice greenbacks for a most uncertain and otherwise unsalable piece of property; the negro gets his freedom; and Uncle Sam gets a stout, willing soldier; while the wherewithal that lubricates the entire process is paid by some one who was drafted but chose not to serve, and who probably would not have "gone in" half so heartily as the black will. If Stanton is not a born Yankee, he ought to be, and should be naturalized by Taunton or Wethersfield at once. The operation is so good a one that its contemplation should make every one happy.

Yet *The World* perversely insists on being miserable. It stumbles right over the place where the laugh comes in and doesn't see it. It copies an account of the process, and makes faces over it after this fashion:

"We do not know where Secretary Stanton finds any sanction in the laws for this wholesale trafficking in able-bodied male slaves; but then he is not a man to be deterred from any project by such a sorry trifle as a law or the want of one. It is clear that this enlisting of negroes is not so much to fill our armies as to compel Emancipation in Maryland by rendering slave property insecure.

"As there has been no appropriation by Congress to enable Mr. Stanton to go into the slave trade, it follows that the money collected from the $300 exemption fees under the Conscription law must be used for this purpose. It is true that law provided that substitutes should be procured with the fees exacted from the conscripts; but there is no warrant for the arbitrary seizure of able-bodied male slaves for the military service, and the tendering of this particular sum in payment without regard to the market price. *It is rather a severe joke upon Democrats who have paid their three hundred dollars that they should be represented in the field by an enfranchised negro.*"

"Render slave property insecure," does it? Why, you innocent! it has been nothing else than that ever since Jeff. Davis commenced operations expressly to make it safe and snug forever. To turn it into good greenbacks is the only mode of making it secure that has of late been heard of.

We non-concur as to the "severe joke" aforesaid. The Copperheads who pay the $300, or get it paid by their City or County, don't want to be "represented in the field" at all; and, since they insist that a negro has no fight in him, he is as near their mark as can be and have the law obeyed, so they are affectionately counseled to laugh with the rest of mankind.—*Tribune.*

REVIEW OF COLORED TROOPS BY GEN. THOMAS.

From The New Orleans Era, Sept. 12.

One of the pleasantest excursions of the season was that of Adjt.-Gen. Thomas and party, which took place yesterday. The General desired to see the regiments stationed at Forts Jackson and St. Phillip, and he invited a few military gentlemen to accompany him. The party numbered about a dozen, and consisted of members of the staffs of Gens. Banks, Grant and Thomas. They left the levee at midnight Wednesday, in Gen. Thomas's private boat, the Benjamin Franklin, and arrived at the forts at 7 o'clock the next morning. The night had been cool and delightful, and propitious to the advances of tired nature's sweet restorer; but when the sun rose, those who had not taken advantage of the opportunity, so seldom afforded, of enjoying a nice, cool nap, wished they had been wiser, and those who slept would have been glad if Apollo had suspended business for one day at least. The heat was almost intolerable, but it did not prevent the party from going on shore and witnessing the drill of the 4th Louisiana (colored), nor did it prevent Gen. Thomas and Gen. Smith from becoming so enthusiastic in observing the soldiers, as to mind the sun no more than if it had been a rush candle.

This regiment is commanded by Col. C. W. Drew, formerly of the 75th New York. There are six companies at Fort Jackson, and four at Fort St. Phillip, all of which were reviewed and drilled by Gen. Thomas. Truth compels us to say that they made a very poor exhibition. With the exception of Col. Drew, we did not notice any officer who seemed to understand his business thoroughly, though there were doubtless some. There are many good reasons for this deficiency, the most important of which is, that until a very short time the men had been at work on fortifications, and have never had an opportunity to drill, but it was easy to see that in what they had learned they were remarkably proficient, and under the tutorship of Gen. Thomas, who went among the men himself and instructed the officers in the proper words of command, they learned some lessons which they will never forget. One could see, even better than if the regiment had been perfectly drilled, the excellent material of which it is composed, and the extraordinary aptitude of the negroes for military manœuvers. Col. Drew is an excellent officer and full of energy; his whole heart and mind are thoroughly in his work. Under his intelligent superintendence but few weeks will be allowed to elapse before the 4th Louisiana Infantry, Corps d'Afrique, will be far on their way to rival the splendid display made by the 11th Indiana, on Tuesday evening.

After the General left Fort St. Phillip, and was on his way back, he was reminded that he had omitted to review the company of heavy artillery which is stationed there, commanded by Capt. Loring, formerly of the 13th Maine. Notwithstanding the heat and exposure to which he had been subjected, the General determined to return and see this company, and it was well he did so, for the poor fellows were feeling very badly to think that they had been slighted; and, moreover, this exhibition of drill and discipline commanded the magnificent admiration of every one who witnessed it. Both with their muskets and at the heavy guns they were prompt, exact and correct in their movements. They are rather slow yet, but with practice they will become as active as could be desired. They are a fine body of men, and their Captain received the hearty commendation of Gen. Thomas, which ought to fill the measure of his ambition in the direction of praise.

All the troops were addressed both by Gen. Thomas and Gen. Smith. The former told them, in a few simple words, what he had come here for, and what he hoped to accomplish. He said that he expected their help and coöperation, exhorted them to do their duty, and then eloquently alluded to the great opportunity now afforded their race to prove to the world that manhood which for generations has been so cruelly denied them, by joining their efforts with that of the white race to save our common country from the ruin and disgrace with which it is threatened by the authors of the rebellion, and earning for themselves and their posterity homes in the land and the position of men in the nation. Gen. Smith spoke in a similar strain, and gave some account of the battle of Milliken's Bend, as it appeared to him after the fight. He said he saw white and black men lying side by side on the ground, killed by the bayonet—the first instance, to his knowledge, in this war, where bayonets had crossed. The men listened in wrapt attention to everything that he said, and before the party left, gave three rousing cheers for Gen. Thomas, and three more for the President of the United States. The occasion will be memorable to those men as long as they live. True soldierly pride has been aroused, and they have been shown that they are cared for—that they are an object of concern to the government. They have been visited by the immediate representative of the President of the United States, and he has spoken words of kindness, commendation, and encouragemnt to them which they will never forget.

FROM MISSISSIPPI.

Vicksburg, Sept. 3.—The negro regiments are fast filling up. Gen. Thomas has fairly entered upon his duties of organizing the African regiments, and inspecting the contraband camps. In his published order he says:

"I shall take such measures as may prove most beneficial to the welfare of all women, children, aged and infirm persons of African descent, who have sought refuge within our lines, or who may hereafter do so. In future, all able-bodied male negroes of the above class will at once be organized, by such officers as may be detailed for that duty, into the military service of the United States, when they will be assigned to regiments composed of persons of African descent now in process of formation, or to be formed thereafter."

One without knowledge from observation would be surprised at the number of rejected Africans on account of physical disability. Not more than one out of ten of those offering are accepted. Some are knock-kneed, others bow legged; some have their toes pointed out at right angles from the direction in which they move; and scrofula and consumption make sad havoc with them. They have been bred in and in until idiocy and disease has possessed them. On many plantations they were forbidden to pass the line that divided them from the next planter, which was imprisonment with the sunlight for jailor. Other diseases, acquired from the low and vicious of the white race, have served to deteriorate them. It is a pitiful sight to see a camp of them as they sit in almost idiotic idleness. They cannot understand the situation, though all seem to feel that somehow good is to come to them. It is wonderful to see their faith! In these things, as of the stars, there is a power that we do not understand. Gradually, but surely, this great evil is leaving this fair land. Soon the glorious noontide sun of liberty shall effulge the land; shackles shall fall and chains be broken, and falsehood give place to truth.

Gen. Thomas says further:

"It has become apparent that the system of receiving all negroes who may have sought protection of our government, and allowing them to remain in many instances in a state of almost inactivity, has become, at times, not only injurious to the interests of the service, but to the welfare of the negroes themselves, resulting in habits of idleness, sickness and disease."

This is true in every respect. They are brought in to camps and thousands of them together breed disease. At Natchez there are 6 000 in one camp. They have been accustomed to have some one look after them—non-reliant—their labor, their food, their clothing even, looked after by an overseer or master. When sick the master, from motives of policy, must attend them: A $1,000 or $2,000, as the case might, he could not be overlooked. Let those who delight to see them die in camps remember this! There are many even among the troops who seem delighted at the mortality prevailing. That they do die in great numbers is true—and the enemies of their improvement use this as an argument in favor of slavery. They had better fall like grass before the mower than live as they have lived in the past. Degraded themselves, they degrade the master. They have enriched him until he grew to think wealth and prosperity the meed of merit and the judge of worth. From these sprung arrogance and the lust of power; from these secession—the nemesis of their sins. Philanthropy has labored for an age to break the chain which its friends have rent, in their madness, in a season.

"It is further considered expedient that all children and female negroes who may hereafter be desirous of seeking refuge within our lines be advised to remain on the plantations, or elsewhere, where they have been heretofore in a state of servitude, provided such place be under Union control. All such negroes will receive the protection of this government while they remain in the locality that may be designated; and all such persons may be authorized to occupy plantations or other places and will be permitted to employ these females and children in any capacity most suited to their ability.

"All male negroes who are incapacitated, by old age, ill health, or in any other respect, from serving in regiments of African descent, will be duly cared for, and assigned, as heretofore, to the nearest camp for such persons."

It would seem that humanity could suggest nothing better than this at present. The poor creatures are willing to do anything they can to advance their interest or aid the scheme they desires their amelioration.

Gen. Thomas thinks he will have enough negro soldiers to garrison this whole valley by Christmas. That they will make good soldiers, if properly officered and disciplined, none deny. Intelligent, patient, tractable, and naturally fond of the trappings and pompous circumstance of war.—*Tribune.*

Summary.

ABSCONDING SLAVES MAKE SHORT CROPS.—The Rockville (Md.) *Sentinel* of the 11th inst. says that in consequence of the frequent absconding of slaves from that region, the farmers will not have sufficient help to gather their Fall crops.

A gentlemen of Chicopee, Mass., has on his farm an apple tree remarkable both for its size and productiveness. Its trunk measures three feet and eleven inches in diameter, and its top spreads over a circle of one hundred and eighty feet in circumference, so that it is doubtless the largest apple tree in the country. Three years ago seventy bushels of apples were gathered from it. It will turn off several barrels of fruit this year.

The New York Tribune editorially states that the song, "All hail to the flaunting lie," which appeared in that paper some years ago, and which is being constantly quoted against it, was written by a young Irish Democrat of New York, "then and now a member of the Tammany Society, and a most ardent, effective coworker with Cox in the support for the Presidency of Buchanan in '56 and Douglas in '60."

A SOUTHERN HOTEL.—A letter from Trenton, Ga., says: "This place, the County seat of Dade County, is an insignificant town of perhaps fifteen houses. It presents now an appearance of almost complete desertion. The tavern of the village is a specimen. The landlady, with bare feet, came to the door, and, with the true Southern accent and pronunciation, told us they had nothing to eat. I believed her. Keeping tavern and nothing to eat."

RAILROAD TRAVEL.—It is no wonder the diplomats who accompanied Secretary Seward on his recent Northern trip were astonished at the number of people they saw, and the general evidence of prosperity. Everybody else is astonished also. The number of people travelling on business and pleasure this season is immense. There was never anything like it before. Railroads, steamboats and stages are reaping rich harvests.

WELL ANSWERED.—The

Miscellaneous Department.

THE SCOURGED BACK *

BY REV. GEORGE LANSING TAYLOR.

A WILDERNESS of scars!
A field, by tangled furrows torn and riven!
A sea of waves, by meeting whirlwinds driven!
A cloud, storm-shattered through the midnight heaven!
A wreck of rayless stars!

A human form! O God!
Who of one blood hast made all tribes below,
Is this thy work, thy image, mangled so?
Ay; thus was thy own Son, for human woe,
Scourged by the soldiers' rod.

A human form! O yes;
That skin had nerves as exquisite as thine;
That flesh could quiver, like my child's or mine;
Those muscles writhed, when floods of burning brine
Drenched their gashed nakedness.

Why was it done, or borne?
Behold the brow that crowns that manly form,
See the strong shoulder, and the sinewy arm;
'Twas done to crush that *man* into a *worm!*
'Twas borne in hope of morn.

But all is over now:
A deep sereneness of unearthly grace
Sheds soft o'er every lineament its trace;
Hell's mark behind, but heaven's on his face,
And victory on his brow.

The sun with golden pen
Has drawn two pictures here, and all may read:
"Curst be the fiends who wrought this devilish deed?"
Nay, rather curse the worse than devilish creed
That make such fiends of men.

Send such men back to chains?
Not while a conscious nation feels and thinks!
Not till each freeman's lifted right-arm shrinks!
Not till the perjured land that dares it sinks!
And God no longer reigns!

Seymour, Conn., July 25, 1863.

* A photographic picture, taken at Baton Rouge, La., April 2, 1863, of the back of a negro who was whipped there during the preceding October, in so horrible a manner that, although more than five months had elapsed when the picture was taken, the whole back was still a horrible tissue of ghastly wounds and scars.—See *Independent*, May 28, 4th page.

An army officer, writing from Louisiana to the Boston *Transcript* concerning the colored volunteers in Gen. Banks's Department, says: "My surgeons report to me that not one in fifteen is free from severe lashing. *More than* ONE-HALF *are rejected because of disability arising from lashing with whips and the biting of dogs.* Hundreds of them have welts on their backs as large as one of your largest fingers."

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

SLOW COMPARATIVE PROGRESS OF MORAL SCIENCE.

MAN is a triple being, possessed of a physical, a mental, and a moral nature or constitution. Each of the separate departments of his being is controlled by appropriate laws, demanding obedience, to ensure health and happiness, and each of these laws enforced by a fitting penalty for its infraction, designed, apparently, as well to guard and guide back into the right path, as to punish the erring for its violation. These laws are immutable in their nature, operate immediately, inexorably, to reward or punish, and wholly irrespective of the motives of the actor who obeys or violates them. The recuperative energies of the human constitution tolerate a limited degree of disobedience to them, and appear to reinstate the offender in his original condition, but this may be only apparent, not real. Finer powers of observation, possibly, might enable us to perceive the scars, both physical and moral, where to our present limited vision all seems healed again. To perceive the existence of these laws, and to comprehend the significance of their influence upon our destiny, is the highest knowledge; to obey their requirements is the truest wisdom.

Whilst the advance of mankind in a knowledge of physical dynamics and their application to human benefit pursues a steadily accelerating progression, an understanding and employment of the principles of moral science remain nearly stationary, and only receive a forward impulse at widely distant epochs. A knowledge of the inventions and discoveries of men is so readily diffused by the art of printing, and is made so nearly imperishable, that all who have the mental energy to wish to possess it, have within their reach the means of attaining more or less of such information. Stimulated by immediate necessity, by the desire to provide against future want, and kindred motives, the inventive genius of man seems to approach in its achievements almost to a triumph over space. The equilibrium which should prevail in the development of the three-fold nature of the human being is not preserved, and physical science is cultivated at the expense of moral, as is evidenced at the present moment by inordinate activity in the application of such science to perfect the means of human destruction, rather than of preservation. Though this may seem to have become an invincible necessity, owing to the enormous and outrageous violations of human rights, by those who are immediately responsible for the devastation and destruction which prevail at present in this nation, it is none the less true that an earlier understanding of and obedience to the teachings of moral science, attainable by equal energy, industry and perseverence in its pursuit, with that which has so immensely advanced our progress physically, would have wholly obviated this apparent necessity.

Most prominent among the causes which determine a disproportionate attention to physical developement and progress, may be reckoned the fact that a knowledge of the physical sciences has been the growth of continuous observation and persistent inquiry, by the unshackled intellectual energies of the race, with constant practical demonstration of the truths unfolded, whilst the discoveries in moral science have been promulgated in the form of dogmas, with no demonstration of why they are truths, and when received at all by mankind, have been accepted verbally, merely through reverence for the authority of those who have uttered them. This kind of assent to really important truths has thus been superstitiously given by myriads who have neither been able to assign nor to perceive a reason *why* they *are* truths, and whose lives, consequently, have been but slightly influenced by them. When minds, intellectually the most exalted, who would refuse to receive as truth any alleged new discovery in physical science without an individual verification of its susceptibility to demonstration, thus surrender themselves to a professed belief in dogmas theological or moral, because propounded by those whom they have been taught to reverence, is it wonderful that the great mass of the less informed should fall into the same error? And thus it has happened that while men *know* a vast amount respecting the laws which control and determine all physical phenomena, and are thereby enabled to employ them in blessing or cursing society, they merely *believe* without knowledge in respect to laws which equally control all moral phenomena, and are therefore incompetent to use them to promote human well-being.

Minds even but dimly enlightened are able to perceive the existence of physical laws, which came into operation when man came into being, to which obedience is imperatively demanded to secure his welfare, or even his continued existence. Among the earliest instructions which the infant universally receives is to avoid the danger of fire, of water, to shun the penalty of a breach of the law of gravitation, etc., etc. Gradually, as his knowledge and comprehension of the physical laws which control all matter enlarges and increases, he begins to employ them as agencies to promote his own welfare and that of society, and thus, step by step, is attained a knowledge which enables him to exhibit those triumphs in invention and discovery, which give character to the present condition of civilization. But no equivalent training in moral science is possible, because educators, whether parents or other instructors, do not perceive and appreciate the existence of analogous moral laws, controlling all moral and social phenomena as actively, immediately and inexorably as do the physical, having the same origin, resting on the same basis, operating by rewards and punishments as impartially, and susceptible of demonstration equally with the first.

It seems marvellous that in christendom, at least, where the highest known attainments have been reached in a knowledge and application of the physical laws to the benefit of the human family, and where the immortality of the soul is an accepted belief, so little thought and labor have been expended in the investigation and demonstration of those to which our moral nature has been subjected. The violation of these has caused all the inharmony, the inequality in social condition, and the consequent suffering with which earth is overflowing. Instead of it, men have been busy in the endeavor to discover or invent and propagate systems of religion by which they hope to escape in a future life the consequences of a violation of the Creator's laws in this. In connection with these many excellent precepts have been delivered, but they have had the smallest possible influence on human conduct, because taught merely as the dicta of authority, without the necessary demonstration that by their concurrence with a preexisting law of man's being only is it that they possess any saving influence. An example of this may be seen in the teaching of Moses, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," accompanied by no reason, which his auditors could comprehend and make their own, *why* they should do it. On the contrary, it is evident to all that it is at variance with much of his other instruction of the same people, and consequently fell still-born from his lips, shorn of all influence on their conduct. The monitions of Jesus were free from such inconsistency in great measure. Yet when he taught, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," "Love your enemies," "Do good to those that hate you," with many kindred precepts, they received only a professed, not a living acceptance, because they rested upon personal authority alone, without the demonstration of which they are susceptible, that they require no more than obedience to a preëxisting law of man's being, the violation of which is equally injurious to his moral welfare as a breach of the physical law of digestion, or of respiration, or of gravitation, or any of the congeners of these to his physical.

In the creation of the human race its interests were made a unit. They are one, inseparable, indissoluble, indivisible. In an *actual*, not a metaphorical or imaginary sense, the whole race is a brotherhood. An individual can receive neither benefit nor injury, without the whole participating in it. Like the effects of a pebble flung into the ocean, which influence the whole mass, although they are perceived by our finite ken to a very limited extent, so in the human family the individual can neither suffer nor enjoy without the participation of all others—those in closest association of course in the greatest degree. The *demonstration* which proves this to be *the true social law*, controlling all social and moral phenomena, is to be found in the fact that the *consequences* of the action or omission of the individual *never* end with himself. From the minutest to the most important action or omission of any one, these consequences flow out to the inclusion of others in the enjoyment or suffering they produce, as they are consistent with or violative of this primary law.

That men do not perceive and comprehend the existence of this controlling influence over every act of their lives is very manifest, as we see them universally seeking to possess interests separate from their fellows, and thus unconsciously producing the vast aggregate of social evil, of inequality in condition and of suffering which the philanthropist everywhere laments, and seeks partial remedy for; whilst he with all others perpetuates them by continued infraction of the law of which they are penalties inevitable to its violation. Doubtless this all-prevailing scepticism in natural religion, this faithlessness in the only true worship of God, by implicit obedience to his laws is in large measure a consequence of the inculcation and prevalence of those artificial religions which aim to save men in their sins rather than to save them from them. But that this is only one link in the chain of causation is evident, for we observe persons of great intelligence, benevolence and conscientiousness, who are only indirectly influenced by these systems, who participate equally in violations of the law, in apparent ignorance of its existence. Each generation comes into being insusceptible of rapid progress in a true direction, owing to mental and moral conditions imposed by hereditary transmission of qualities from parent to child, to which is added the incapacity of their progenitors to teach them, from the lack of knowledge in themselves, and thus moral science remains almost stationary, whilst the same law of hereditary descent operates effectually towards the rapid advance of physical science. Gigantic evils, as human slavery, the existence of hereditary classes of privileged persons, wars, monopolies of every kind and degree, like mighty rivers, vast, unfathomable, sweep devastatingly through society, and shock the moral sense of many whose share in originating the silent springs which feed them by their own individual violations of the true social law, is unperceived by themselves and unsuspected. These labor ineffectually to suppress or even limit the towering evils which they acknowledge to exist, because through ignorance and inadvertence their own acts perpetually add to their force and volume.

A demonstration of the entire unity, the complete oneness of all human interests, is scarcely ever attempted between those who stand in the relation of teacher and learner. The pains taken by the moderately developed to instruct children and pupils in the value of constant obedience to physical laws has already been adverted to. On the other hand, the hereditary aptitude of the learner to a violation of the social law is fostered, and encouraged by nearly the whole of his contact with society. When the child overreaches his playmate in a bargain, or conquers him by violence, or in other modes breaks this law, how few admonish him, how many applaud, whilst none inform him of the real injury he has done himself by thus perverting his own moral nature. Many will tell him in words, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," whilst by acts which the intuitive nature of the young thinker cannot misunderstand, they instruct him exactly the contrary, so that by the time he has arrived at what is esteemed maturity of intellect, he has comparatively but a spark of moral nature left, and this when influenced at all is taught to be satisfied with keeping his actions within the limits of the civil law, the performance of what he esteems to be religious duties one day in seven, with perhaps by the more zealous the addition of morning and evening ceremonies. Yet the law written upon his nature by the finger of God proclaims that every act of his life is either *obedience*, and therefore worship of the Supreme and productive of happiness, or *transgression*, unwittingly or knowingly, and therefore the occasion of suffering. But as he does not even dream of the existence of such social law, much less conform his conduct with it, his life adds to the wrong and suffering everywhere prevailing.

The philosopher, who half a century ago should have proclaimed the existence of physical laws, by the application of which mankind would be enabled to transport themselves and property overland for vast distances, in a limited time, thus revolutionizing the trade of the world, or that they would communicate with each other across the continent, or from shore to shore between continents in a few hours, would have been scoffed at as a fool or a madman. A patient investigation and skillful application of physical dynamics has accomplished this and more, as is now patent to all. And thus those who now teach the existence of cognate law, controlling the social relations of mankind, which, carefully studied and faithfully obeyed, would initiate a parallel social progress, may expect a similar fate. Yet why should we conclude that such perfect wisdom and skill have been exhibited in the adaptation of physical law to the conditions of a transcient physical existence, and yet that the immortal part of our nature, created for an eternity of existence, has been left unguarded, unguided, with no alalogous immutable law to direct, a knowledge of which is obtainable by the same means that suffice to ensure progress in physical things? It is not rational, it is not reverential towards the Father of all to cherish such a belief. It is putting the less above the greater, the transient above the permanent!

Through this door, and by the supersedure of present institutions and usages, political, social, commercial and religious, may be expected the coming and long-anticipated millennium. Long, weary ages of strife, sorrow and suffering may precede, but come it will at last!

A. BROOKE.

Marlboro, O., Aug. 31, 1863.

KIDNAPPING SOUTH SEA ISLANDERS.

IMPORTANT TRIAL AT TAHITI.

THE proceedings of the French Criminal Tribunal at Tahiti, in the case of the Peruvian brig the Mercedes A. de Wholey, are full of interest on many grounds. The official journal of the French establishments in Oceania—*The Messager de Taiti*—reports the trial at great length. We are indebted to a contemporary for the following abridged translation:

The Chincha Islands, the property of the Peruvian government, are the great source of the guano supply, which has proved so fruitful for years past to the coffers of that republic. The necessity of obtaining laborers to serve under hard conditions on these islands has led to the capture, or, in other words, the engagement under fraudulent pretences of natives of the islands of the South Seas. These simple-minded aboriginals—men and women—have yielded in large numbers to the seductive representations made to them. According to their understanding they were to be carried to South America, to cultivate the sugar cane, rice, and coffee; to receive payment at the rate of five piastres per month; to be maintained and furnished with clothing and all other necessaries; and to be not only at liberty to return, but to be brought back to their native land at the charge of their employers. But instead of being designed for these agricultural employments, the real destination of these Indians was, no doubt, the Chinta (guano) Islands, where the forced laborers are placed under conditions of the most cruel servitude. They are in fact slaves, from whom the very extremest service is exacted; to whom only sufficient provision is allowed.

The Mercedes A. de Wholey was a brig fitted out at Peru, and part under the command of a captain, a native of Spain, named Juan Bautista Unibaso. The owner of the Mercedes A. de Wholey was the agent of the contractor for the Chinta (guano) Islands. On board the brig there were shipped at Callao an American named Knapp, who was to act as pilot and interpreter. The object of the enterprise upon which the vessel was dispatched was to obtain emigrants from the Islands of Polynesia—avowedly to labor as agriculturalists in cultivating the sugar cane, rice, and coffee.

According to the French laws prevailing within the limits of the Protectorate of the Polynesian seas, no foreign vessels are allowed to enter the waters of the islands or to take cargo from them without the authorisation of the Imperial authorities at Tahiti. But at the last moment, when the Mercedes was on the point of leaving Callao, the owner strictly forbade the visit of the ship to that island, and manifested an extreme anxiety on the subject. Such was the allegation made in his defence by Knapp, one of the defendants tried at Papeete, and corroborated by witnesses. The Mercedes proceeded accordingly, not to Tahiti, but to Faarava, Moatutu, and other islands. At one of these places she took on board a Frenchman named Grandet, who had long been a resident on the islands, and who engaged himself, on certain liberal terms, to procure Indians to embark. An interview was had with some chiefs who signed contracts on the part of the natives. Payments of money were promised, and other enticing inducements held out, and upwards of 150 Indians were induced to embark. Some, however, including chiefs, went on board intending to accompany the ship only a little way along the coast, and then to return. They were, however, detained as prisoners, on the ground that they had eaten of the ship's food. Before the Mercedes had got out of the waters of the islands she was overhauled by a French war steamer—the Latouche Treville; her papers were demanded, and these not proving satisfactory, she was seized, and the agent (Grandet), and the captain (Unibaso), and the pilot (interpreter, Knapp) were conveyed to Tahiti, to undergo their trial. They were all committed, only Grandet died in hospital before the Criminal Tribunal opened its session. Unibaso and Knapp were convicted, and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment (five and ten years) with hard labor, and heavy pecuniary damages.

A THOUSAND YEARS.

A THOUSAND years! through storm and fire,
With varying fate, the work has grown,
'Til Alexander crowns the spire
Where Rurik laid the corner-stone.

The chieftain's sword, that could not rust,
But bright in constant battle grew,
Raised to the world a throne august,
A nation grander than he knew.

Nor he alone; but those who have,
Through faith or deed, an equal part—
The subtle brain of Yaroslav,
Vladimir's arm, and Nikon's heart:

The later hands that built so well
The work sublime which these began,
And from base to pinnacle
Wrought out the Empire's mighty plan.

All these, to-day, are crowned anew,
And rule, in splendor, where they trod,
While Russia's children throng to view
Her holy cradle, Novgorod.

From Volga's banks, from Dwina's side;
From pine-clad Ural, dark and long;
Or where the foaming Terek's tide
Leaps down from Kasbek, bright with song!

From Altai's chain of mountain-cones,
Mongolian deserts, far and free,
And lands that bind, through changing zones,
The Eastern and the Western sea.

To every race she gives a home,
And creeds and laws enjoy her shade;
Till, far beyond the dream of Rome,
Her Cæsar's mandate is obeyed.

She blends the virtues they impart,
And holds, within her life combined,
The patient faith of Asia's heart,
The force of Europe's restless mind.

She bids the nomad's wandering cease;
She binds the wild marauder fast,
Her plow-shares turn to homes of peace
The battle-field of ages past.

And, nobler far, she dares to know
Her future's task—nor knows in vain,
But strikes at once the generous blow
That makes her millions men again!

So, firmer-based, her power expands,
Nor yet has seen its crowning hour,
Still teaching to the struggling lands
That Peace the offspring is of Power.

Build up the storied bronze, to tell
The steps whereby this height she trod—
The thousand years that chronicle
The toil of Man, the help of God!

And may the thousand years to come—
The future ages, wise and free,—
Still see her flag, and hear her drum,
Across the world, from sea to sea!—

Still find, a symbol stern and grand,
Her ancient eagle's strength unshorn,
One head to watch the western land,
And one to guard the land of morn!

BAYARD TAYLOR.

Novgorod, Russia, September 20, 1862.

ERRORS OF THE PRESS.

[From W. L. STONE'S "Early History of Printing in Boston and New York," in *The Continental Monthly* for September.]

NOTHING can be more annoying to authors and publishers than errors of the press; and yet those who are unskilled in the art of printing can scarcely conceive the difficulty of avoiding them. The art of proof-reading with perfect accuracy is a high and difficult attainment. To arrive at ordinary accuracy in a daily newspaper, requires the reading and correction of at least two proofs; and even then an editor, who has not become case-hardened, by long practice and long endurance, will often be shocked at the transformation of sense into nonsense, or the murdering of one of his happiest conceits, or the plucking of the point out of one of his neatest paragraphs by a typographical error.

In the early stages of the art of printing, typographical errors were far more numerous than in books of modern execution, where there is a real effort to attain to ordinary accuracy. It was then very common for a volume of ordinary size to contain page upon page of *errata* at the close. One of the most remarkable instances of this kind was the curious treatise of Edward Leigh, "On Religion and Learning," published in 1655. At the close of the work were two folio pages of corrections in very minute characters. The author himself complains as follows: "We have no Plantier or Stevens (two celebrated printers of another day) amongst us; and it is no easy task to specify the chiefest *errata;* false interpunctions there are too many; here a letter wanting, there a letter too much; a syllable too much, one letter for another; words joined, which should be severed; words misplaced, chronological mistakes, etc."

Leigh's case, however, was not so hard as that of a monk, who wrote and published the "Anatomy of the Mass," in 1561. The work itself contained only one hundred and seventy-two pages, to which were added FIFTEEN pages of *errata*. The pious monk wrote an apology for these inaccuracies, which, if true, proved that his case was indeed a cruel one—clearly proving, moreover, that even if the devil had originally assisted Doctor Faustus and Gutenberg in the invention, his brimstone majesty very soon became sick of his bargain. The monk avers that he wrote the work to circumvent the artifices of Satan, and that the devil, ever on the alert, undertook to circumvent him. For this purpose Satan, in the first place, caused the MS. to be drenched in a kennel, until it was rendered comparatively illegible; and, in the second place, he compelled the printers to perpetrate more typographical blunders than had ever before been made in a book of no greater magnitude. But the malice of Lucifer did not end here. He compelled the priest to act under his influence while making the corrections!

But they were not all unintentional errors of the press in those days that appeared such. There were words and phrases interdicted by the Pope and the Inquisition; and sometimes by adroit management the interdicted word, though not inserted in the text, could be arrived at in the table of *errata*.

It is a singular fact, that the edition of the Latin Vulgate, by Pope Sixtus the Fifth, although his Holiness carefully superintended every sheet as it passed through the press, has ever remained without a rival in typographical inaccuracy. Still more curious was the fact, that the Pope, in the plentitude of pontifical infallibility, prefixed to the first volume a bull of excommunication against any and every printer, who, in reprinting the work, should ever make any alteration in the text. To the amazement of the public, however, when the Bible appeared, it swarmed with errors too numerous for an errata. In a multitude of instances it was necessary to reprint whole passages in scraps, and paste over the incorrect verses. Great efforts were made to call in the edition; and it is now only to be found among rare collections, as a monument of literary blunders. If the Devil ever troubles himself about the correction of proofsheets, he was much more likely to be standing at the Pope's elbow while the Bible was printing, than to be bothering his head in regard to the poor monk's mass book to which allusion has been made.

Typographical errors happen in a variety of ways; sometimes by carelessness, sometimes by the ignorance and stupidity of the printer, and sometimes by design. Occurring in either way, they are often ludicrous, and sometimes productive of positive evil. A few examples of each variety will suffice.

In the fine description of the Pantheon, by Akenside, the expressive phrase, "SEVERELY great," not being understood by the printer, who undertook to think for himself, was printed "*serenely* great."

An edition of the Bible was once published in England, in which the word *not* was omitted in the seventh commandment. For this offence, whether by carelessness or by design, the Archbishop imposed the heaviest penalty ever recorded in the annals of literary history. The edition was required to be called in and destroyed, and a fine imposed of £20,000 sterling.

There was a more severe punishment than even this awarded in Germany once, for a wilful alteration of the sacred text. It seems that in Gen. iii. 16, the Hebrew word which has been rendered *husband* in the English translation, is *lord* in the German. It is the passage in which God tells Eve: "And thy desire shall be to thy husband, who shall rule over thee." The German word signifying lord is HERR; and in the same language the word NARR answers for fool. The case was this: A new edition of the Bible was printing at the house of a widow, whose husband had been a printer. The spirited lady, not liking the subordinate station of her sex, and having acquired a little knowledge of the art, watched an opportunity by night to enter the printing office; and while the form was lying on the press, she carefully drew out the letters *H* and *e*, and inserted in their stead the letters *Na*. The outrage was not discovered in season, and the Bible went forth declaring that man should be the woman's fool. Such, probably, is too often the case, but the gentlemen would not like to see it in print. Gravely, however, the person committing such an offence must needs stand in awful apprehension of the fearful curse denounced in the conclusion of the Apocalypse.

An edition of the *Catholic Missal* was once published in France, in which the accidental substitution merely of the letter *u* for an *a* was the cause of a shocking blunder, changing, as it did, the word *calotte* (an ecclesiastical cap or mitre) into *culotte*, which, as my readers are aware, means, in drawing-room English, a gentleman's small clothes. The error occurred in one of the directions for conducting the service, where it is said: "Here the priest will take off his *culotte!*"

Among the errors that have occurred through design was one which happened in the old *Hudson Balance*, when the Rev. Dr. Crosswell was the editor of that ancient and excellent journal. A merchant by the name of Peter Cole changed to get married. Cole, however, was very unpopular, and was not one of the brightest intelligences even of those days. The bride, too, was a little more no than yes, in her intellectual furnishment. It used to be a common practice in the country, in sending marriages to the press, to tack on a bit of poetry in the shape of some sweet hymenial sentimentality. In compliance with this custom the groomsman added a line or two from one of the poets, where the bard speaks of the bliss of the marriage state, "when *heart* meets *heart* reciprocally soft." The wicked boys in the printing office, however, corrected the poet, making the stanza read thus:

"When *head* meets *head*, reciprocally soft."

Another instance, more ludicrous still, was the following: A lad in a printing office, who knew more about type-setting than he did of the Greek mythology, in looking over a poem they were printing, came upon the name of *Hecate*, one of the lady divinities of the lower world, occurring in a line like this:

"Shall reign the *Hecate* of the deepest hell."

The boy, thinking he had discovered an error, ran to the master-printer, and inquired eagerly whether there was an *e* in cat. "Why, no, you blockhead," was the reply. Away went the boy to the press room, and extracted the objectionable letter. But fancy the horror of both poet and publisher, when the poem appeared with the line:

"Shall reign the HE CAT of the deepest hell."

But let a form of types, arranged either for book or newspaper, be ever so correct when sent to the press, errors not unfrequently happen from yet another cause, viz: the liability of now and then a letter to drop out, when the form has not been properly adjusted, or locked sufficiently tight in the iron frame which by printers is called a *chase*. How important the loss of a single letter may become is seen by the following example. A printer putting to press a form of the Common Prayer, the *c* in the following passage dropped out unperceived by him: "We shall all be CHANGED in the twinkling of an eye." When the book appeared, to the horror of the devout worshipper, the passage read: "We shall all be HANGED in the twinkling of an eye."

Sometimes a whole page or a whole form drops through, and falls into what printers call *pi*—that is, a mass of all sorts of letters, stops, marks, points, spaces, forming a jumble of everything—and involving the dire necessity of assorting over the whole mass, letter by letter. In isolated printing houses, where they have but few workmen, and assistance is not near, such a catastrophe is a serious matter. An instance of this kind, which happened many years ago in the County of Oneida, is in point. An editor was putting his paper to press (for in the country, editor and printer are often combined) when down fell his form—a wreck of matter and a crush of words. There was no other printing office nearer than Albany, and it was impossible for him to rearrange his types for the paper that week. But his paper must come out at all hazards, on account of the legal advertisements on the first side. He therefore hit upon the expedient of publishing his paper with a blank page, inserting in large letters, "*Omitted for want of room!*"

But, after all, when it is considered of how many separate and minute pieces of metal a book form or the page of a newspaper is composed, the wonder is that errors of the press are not far more numerous than they are. A single page of one of our largest papers cannot contain less than 150,000 separate pieces of metal, each of which must be nicely adjusted in its own proper place, or error and confusion will ensue.

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE.

SINCE the days of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, and the pet Spectators, Ramblers, Idlers and Adventurers, what an advance has been made! There are more books than ever before, and as good ones; the quarterlies are but books jointly composed by several coöperating authors, and contain papers, often, which represent the ripe results of a whole lifetime's experience or reflection in every department of learning. The monthlies, if less stately, are hardly less able; and all this is without prejudice to the weekly and daily newspapers, which command some of the best thinkers and writers in England and America.

It was a happy thought, to select from this wide range of matter the best articles in every department, and by bringing them together in a new work, to give to the people at a very moderate sum, the cream of a hundred different inaccessible and expensive magazines and papers. But this Mr. Littell has done, and done so well as to have deserved and earned for himself the thanks and esteem of all grateful readers. Our readers have doubtless seen the stereoscopic boxes which contain from twenty-five to a hundred plates, which, revolving, come up in succession before the eye and present living pictures from every part of the world. This is just what Mr. Littell does for us in literary matters. His *Living Age* is a stereoscopic series of the learned and literary doings of the world. It comes every week with a new set of pictures, reflecting every side of the writing world, scientific, philosophical, historic, didactic, critical, statistical, poetic; narrative, biography, stories—in short, everything except stupid goodness and smart immorality.

Out of so wide a field to select with taste and good judgment, requires a talent, in its way, quite as rare as that which produces a brilliant article. Every plodder cannot select wisely. It demands great industry, multifarious reading, a nicety of taste and tact, which are none the less praiseworthy because so few think to praise them. Readers are an ungrateful set. They seldom think of their obligations to those who prepare for them the endless treasure of the printed page. They seem to think that an author or compiler should be grateful and satisfied if they only buy and admire. But there is for nobler natures a payment in coin less gross but more precious. If we were to express the sense of love and gratitude which we feel to the authors that have companied with us, first as teachers, and since as reverend companions, we should scarcely find words or space for the fulness of the offering! We love to cherish a sense of unpayable obligation to great hearts. And there is no man who performs the humblest service in the realm of learning and literature, who has not a right to the honors and gratitude of benefactor.

Mr. Littell is not pursuing a new or recent thing. As long ago as 1836 we became subscribers to *The Museum*, a work similar to *The Living Age*, published monthly at Philadelphia. This was the beginning of a *second series*. We know not when the first one began. What a period between 1836 and 1859! And what a treasure is a consecutive series of volumes made up of the best matter which has appeared in that long period of more than twenty years!

Of *The Living Age* we have a complete set upon our shelves, and we find it universally popular and useful. For invalids, on whose hands time hangs heavily, and whose capricious taste every day needs some new resource, these bound volumes must be invaluable. For those who resort to the country in Summer, and wish an abundance of miscellaneous reading; for long voyages; for those who love to go back to other years and read of events which now are histories, but then were transpiring, we can cordially commend this unfailingly interesting series. Every year they grow more interesting, not only by the progressive contents, but because as we recede from past years, we find it delightful to have the means of recalling them. Those who have full sets of *The Edinburgh Review*, *The Quarterly*, and who can read the articles which were written upon the appearance of Byron's poems, Scott's, Crabbe's, the Waverly Novels, etc., know how deeply interesting that contemporaneous criticism becomes with every year that lengthens the period between us and it. But we must not trespass upon the space further, in this busy week. And we perform but a duty, while it is a pleasure, in saying that we congratulate him who has, and pity him who has not, upon his shelves the now almost little library—Littell's *Living Age*.

—"*Star Paper*," *by H. W. Beecher.*

THE VAGRANT AT THE CHURCH DOOR.

For years he had not seen his native place—
For years he had not spoken to a friend—
For years he had not stood within a church;
And now he linger'd in the dusky porch,
And watch'd the congregation, one by one,
Cheerfully enter, and devoutly bend
In silent adoration. Many a face,
Familiar long ago, glanced toward his own—
Perhaps with wonder, for they knew him not,
And he was sadly changed, since in this spot
His happy boyhood swiftly pass'd away.

Strange fascination! Now he needs must stay;
For, in the echoes of the choir, he hears
A melody familiar to long past years
And sweet associations. Soon his tears
Tell how the vagrant's spirit has been moved.
All that he dreamt, all that he ever loved,
All that youth's prophecy said "might have been,"
All the grim shadows of the wasted past,
In dim procession moved before him now.

The vagrant pass'd his fingers o'er his brow,
And seemed bewilder'd—crazed—until at last
The dawning of a hopeful smile was seen
Upon his face. The music of the psalm
Died out in whispering echoes; and the voice,
In earnest accents, of the village priest,
Was heard in prayer. Once more the vagrant glanced
Within the church, and then he entered in.
Beneath a column's shadow sat entranced
The poor world-weary man. A holy calm
Encompass'd him, and made his heart rejoice—
The past dissolved as though it had not been.

The service ends. The rolling organ ceased.
The verger came to where the vagrant sat
Mute as a statue. "Come, my man," said he,
"The church is closing; take your stick and hat,
And let me shut the doors." Then wonderingly
The verger look'd again, and muttered low,
"Poor soul! I knew him thirty years ago—
I little thought he would come here to die."

JONES VERY.

THE PURITANS AND THE QUAKERS.

[From "The Puritan Minister," by T. W. HIGGINSON, in *The Atlantic Monthly* for September.]

LET us glance now at some of the larger crosses of the Puritan minister. First came a "young brood" of heretics to torment him. Gorton's, followers were exasperating enough; they had to be confined in irons separately, one in each town, on pain of death, if they preached their doctrines—and of course they preached them. But their offences and penalties were light, compared with those of the Quakers. When the Quakers assembled by themselves, their private doors might be broken open—a thing which Lord Chatham said the King of England could not do to any one—they might be arrested without warrant, tried without jury, for the first offence be fined, for the second lose one ear, for the third lose the other ear, and for the fourth be bored with red-hot iron through the tongue—though this last penalty remained a dead letter. They could be stripped to the waist, tied to a cart, and whipped through town after town—three women were whipped through eleven towns, eighty miles—but afterwards the number was limited to three. Their testimony was invalid, their families attainted, and those who harbored them were fined forty shillings an hour. They might be turned out shelterless among wolves and bears and frosts; they could be branded H for Heretic, and R for Rogue; they could be sold as slaves; and their graves must not be fenced to keep off wild beasts, lest their poor afflicted bodies should find rest there.

Yet in this same age female Quakers had gone as missionaries to Malta and to Turkey and returned unharmed. No doubt the monks and the Sultan must have looked on the plain dress much as some clerical gentlemen have since regarded the Bloomer costume—and the Inquisition imprisoned the missionaries, though the Sultan did not. But meanwhile the Quaker women in New England might be walking to execution with their male companions—like Mary Dyer in Boston—under an armed guard of two hundred, led on by a minister seventy years old, and the fiercer for every year. When they asked Mary Dyer, "Are you not ashamed to walk thus hand in hand between two young men?" she answered, "No, this is to me an hour of the greatest joy I could enjoy in this world. No tongue could utter and no heart understand the sweet influence of the Spirit which now I feel." Then they placed her on the scaffold, and covered her face with a handkerchief which the Reverend Mr. Wilson lent the hangman; and when they heard that she was reprieved, she would not come down, saying that she would suffer with her brethren. And suffer death she did, at last, and the Reverend Mr. Wilson made a pious ballad on her execution.

It is no wonder, if some persons declare that about this time the wheat of Massachusetts began to be generally blasted, and the peas to grow wormy. It is no wonder, that, when the witchcraft excitement came on, the Quakers called it a retribution for these things. But let us be just, even to the unjust. Toleration was a new-born virtue in those days, and one which no Puritan ever for a moment recognized as such, or asked to have exercised toward himself. In England they did not wish to be tolerated for a day as sectaries, they claimed to have authority as the one true church. They held with Pym, that "it is the duty of legislators to establish the true religion and to punish false"—a doctrine equally fatal, whether applied to enforce the right theology or the wrong. They objected to the Church of England, not that it persecuted, but that its persecution was wrongly aimed. It is, therefore, equally absurd to praise them for a toleration they never professed, or to accuse them of any inconsistency when they practiced intolerance. They have been so loosely praised, that they are as loosely blamed. What was great in them was their heroism of soul, not their largeness. They sought the American wilderness not to indulge the whims of others, but their own. They said to the Quakers, "We seek not your death, but your absence." All their persecution, after all, was an alternative sentence; all they asked of the Quakers was to keep out of their settlements and let them alone. Moreover, their worst penalties were borrowed from the English laws, and only four offenders were put to death from the beginning; of course, four too many.

Again, it is to be remembered that the Quaker peculiarities were not theological only, but political and social also. Everything that the Puritan system of government asserted the Quakers denied; they rendered no allegiance, owned no laws, paid no taxes, bore no arms. With the best possible intentions, they subverted all established order. Then their modes of action were very often intemperate and violent. One can hardly approve the condemnation pronounced by Cotton Mather upon a certain Rarey among the Friends in those days, who could control a mad bull that would rend any other man. But it was oftener the Quakers who needed the Rareys. Running naked through the public streets—coming into meeting dressed in sackcloth, with ashes on their heads and nothing on their feet—or sitting there with their hats on, groaning and rocking to and fro, in spite of elders, deacons, and tithing-men; these were the vagaries of the zealots, though always repudiated by the main body. The Puritans found themselves reproached with permitting these things, and so took refuge in outrageous persecutions, which doubled them. Indeed, the Quakers themselves began to persecute, on no greater provocation, in Philadelphia, thirty years afterwards—playing over again upon George Keith and his followers the same deluded policy of fines and imprisonment from which they had just escaped; as minorities have persecuted subminorities ever since intolerance began.

Indeed, so far as mere language went, the minority always watched the majority. Grave divines did not like to be pelted with such epithets as these: "Thou fiery fighter and green-headed trumpeter! thou hedgehog and grinning dog! thou mole! thou tinker! thou lizard! thou bell of no mettle but the tone of a kettle! thou wheelbarrow! thou whirlpool! thou whirligig! thou firebrand! thou moon-calf! thou ragged tatterdemalion! thou gormandizing priest! thou bane of reason and beast of the earth! thou best to be spared of all mankind!"—all of which are genuine epithets from the Quaker books of that period, and termed by Cotton Mather, who collected them, "quills of the porcupine." They surpass even Dr. Chauncy's catalogue of the unsavory epithets used by Whitefield and Tennent a century later; and it was not likely that they would be tolerated by a race whose reverence for men in authority was so comprehensive that they actually fined some one for remarking that Major Phillip's old mare was as lean as an Indian's dog.

There is a quaint anecdote preserved, showing the continuance of the Quaker feud in full vigor as lately as 1705. A youth among the Friends wished to espouse a fair Puritan maiden; but the Quakers disapproved his marrying out of their society, and the Congregationalists his marrying into theirs; so in despair he thus addressed her: "Ruth, let us break from this unreasonable bondage. I will give up my religion, and thou shalt give up thine; and we will marry and go into the Church of England, and go to the Devil together." And they fulfilled the resolution, the Puritan historian says, *so far* as going into the Church, and marrying, and staying there for life. But probably the ministers thought it to be another case of synecdoche.

The Puritan ministers had mingled traits of good and evil, like all mankind—nobler than their descendants in some attributes, less noble in others. The most strait-laced Massachusetts Calvinist of these days would have been disciplined by them for insufferable laxity, and yet their modern successor would count it utter shame, perhaps, to own a slave in his family or to drink rum-punch at an ordination—which Puritan divines might do without rebuke. Not one of them has left on record a statement so broad and noble as that of Roger Williams: "To be content with food and raiment—to mind, not our own, but every man the things of another—yea, and to suffer wrong, and to part with what we judge to be right, yea, our own lives, and, as poor women martyrs have said, as many as there be hairs upon our heads, for the name of God and for the Son of God's sake—this is humanity, this is Christianity; the rest is but formality and picture-courteous idolatry, and Jewish and Popish blasphemy against the Christian religion." And yet the mind of Roger Williams was impulsive, erratic, and unstable, compared with theirs; and in what respect has the work they left behind them proved, after the testing of two centuries, less solid or durable than his?

These men were stern even to cruelty against all that they held evil—Satan and his supposed emissaries, witches, Quakers, Indians, negligent parishioners, disobedient offspring, men with periwigs, and women in sl